



# **“Tāhā Ḥusayn's contribution to the Biographical Literature of Arabic”**

## **ABSTRACT**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH

FOR

THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

ARABIC

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

**Dr. R. R. Sherwani**

(Presently Prof. & Head, Post Graduate Department  
of Arabic, University of Kashmir, Srinagar )

BY

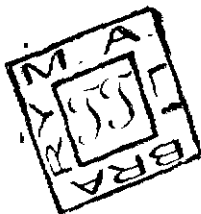
**QAZI AHMAD ULLAH**

LECTURER IN ARABIC

Govt. Degree College (Boys), Anantnag, KASHMIR.

DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH

1984



T 2664



# **“Ṭāhā Ḥusayn’s contribution to the Biographical Literature of Arabic”**

## **ABSTRACT**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH  
FOR  
THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN  
ARABIC

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

**Dr. R. R. Sherwani**

(Presently Prof. & Head, Post Graduate Department  
of Arabic, University of Kashmir, Srinagar)

BY

**QAZI AHMAD ULLAH**

LECTURER IN ARABIC

Govt. Degree College (Boys), Anantnag, KASHMIR.

DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH

**1984**

## A B S T R A C T

The thesis entitled "Tāhā Ḥusayn's Contribution to the Biographical Literature of Arabia" has been divided into five Chapters and, in turn, each chapter has been sub-divided into a number of sections, to facilitate a thorough study of the subject under discussion. The characteristics and salient features of this thesis may be sum up as under :-

1. Before Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 many reformist movements, like the Wahābī Movement in Hidjāz, the Samāwiya Movement in Morocco and the Maḥdī Sudanī Movement in Sudan rose in the Arab world but the currents of their waves were too feeble to penetrate into its length and breadth. Though there is no denying of the fact that had these movements got adequate time to spread and had due attention been paid to them, they would have brought about renaissance in the Arab world, yet the fact remains that this did not happen due to unfavourable circumstances. Therefore, we are not, perhaps, mistaken when we say that Napoleon's invasion served as the long awaited stimulant to the process of renaissance in the Arab world in general and in Egypt in particular - it being the country to be invaded by him. This is why we have started from Napoleon's invasion while giving a general background of the political, social, literary, religious, educational, and cultural conditions prevalent in Egypt in the Nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We have focussed our attention on these fields of the Egyptian life because Tāhā Ḥusayn, throughout his life, had been engaged in writing on these aspects. Not only this, but he took active part in them so as to ensure desired results. He was a natural politician, celebrated writer, and eminent educationist and an enthusiastic social reformer. Hence our attempt has been to highlight these aspects of the Egyptian life as vividly as possible in the first chapter of the thesis.

---

2. It is not possible to understand the real importance and magnitude of the work of a writer without studying his life and character and realizing the factors responsible to mould it in a particular form. The psycho-analytical study of his personality is yet more helpful in unveiling many aspects which remain hidden from the eyes of the reader otherwise. It is this necessity which prompted us to give a bit detailed account of the life of Yāhā Husayn. While doing so, we have particularly centered our attention on political, social, literary, educational and cultural aspects of his life. We have tried to give a systematic account of the events and factors that were responsible for framing his out-look on different matters. To make the study more fruitful we have given a brief psycho-analytical study of his personality under the caption "An appraisal of Yāhā Husayn's Personality". And to have a clear idea of his busy literary career we have given an account of his works arranging them chronologically. This we have done in the second chapter of the thesis.

3. The treasure of the Arabic literature is very rich and biographical literature is no exception as to it, its abundance in Arabic made it easy to say that the Arabs were the originators of the art of biography writing. The earliest of the biographies in Arabic is Ibn Ishāq's, *Sīrah Rasūl-Allāh*. It has survived only in the form of Ibn Hishām's, *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām. The book deals with the life of the Prophet and the events related to it. Many more authors followed Ibn Hishām in writing exclusive biographies. But with the passage of time, attention was paid to writing inclusive biographies and thus *Tahzīb* came into being. Other categories of such works are autobiographies and travellers' reminiscences. It is an acknowledged fact that past heritage affects the present and both lay their impact on the future. In order to understand the worth of the biographical literature produced by Yāhā

---



husayn, it became necessary to conduct a survey of some of the most important biographies written by the distinguished Arab writers earlier. We have selected fifteen such works for this purpose as we consider them to be representative of this type of literature. Our main concern has been to discern the motive behind writing such biographies, to discuss the style adopted by their authors, to assess the literary value of the works, to outline clearly the fields in which one or them differs from the other, to describe the critical apparatus employed by them and to trace stage by stage the development of the art. This we have done in third chapter of the thesis.

4. Tāhā Husayn's multi-dimensional personality was productive of multi-faceted literature but we have been concerned only with the biographical literature produced by him. We have studied it in chronological order so that the evolution of his art as well as of thought be traced out. We have divided the chapter in to two parts; in part I we have studied the biographies written by Tāhā Husayn and in part II we have studied his auto biography, Al-Awṣāf. Besides pointing to the qualities of diction our main concern, throughout the study, has been to find out as to what conclusions Tāhā Husayn wants his reader to draw from the narration and how he wishes that these conclusions should lay an impact on the modern society. We are convinced that Tāhā Husayn has emerged singularly successful in this regard. He has tried to base his discussion on authentic sources and draw an scientific inference, though at some places his inferences have been ill-based as well and this we have pointed out in the thesis. Besides, he has, in many ways, enriched the Arabic literature through his biographical writings and has set examples which many scholars and student writers cherish to follow. We have tried to dwell in detail on these and other

---

other aspects of his biographical literature in chapter fourth of the thesis.

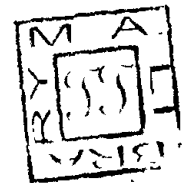
5. The style of Tāhā Ḥusayn has become a by-word for charm and grace in Arabic literature. He expresses the most intricate ideas in the simplest words and phrases. Sometimes he uses synonyms for expressing the same idea which adds to the charm of his style. The biographical literature produced by him is one of the best specimen of this style. In order to judge the characteristics of Tāhā Ḥusayn's biographical works we have conducted a comparative study of the biographical literature produced by writers like Ahmad Amin, 'Abd al-Mahdī al-Qayūm, 'Abd al-Mahdī al-Nayyal and Abd al-Jabbar al-Shukrī with that of Tāhā Ḥusayn. This has also helped us in understanding the nature and estimating the quantum of the influence of the European literature and culture on these various biographers including Tāhā Ḥusayn. These and the like issues have been dealt with in chapter fifth of this thesis.

6. At the end of the thesis we have summed up the discussions of the previous chapters and have briefly described the main characteristics of the form and style of Tāhā Ḥusayn with particular reference to his biographical works. We have also tried to ascertain as to what precisely has been the contribution of Tāhā Ḥusayn to the biographical literature of Arabic.



# **“Ṭāhā Ḥusayn’s contribution to the Biographical Literature of Arabic”**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH  
FOR  
THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN  
ARABIC



UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF  
**Dr. R. R. Sherwani**  
(Presently Prof. & Head, Post Graduate Department  
of Arabic, University of Kashmir, Srinagar )

BY  
**QAZI AHMAD ULLAH**  
LECTURER IN ARABIC  
Govt. Degree College (Boys), Anantnag, KASHMIR.

DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH

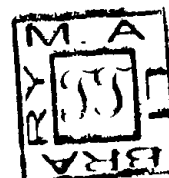
**1984**

T2664



T2664

*[Signature]*  
CHD-2002



CHECKED 1996.07



Tele. : 234

DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH

Dated **7th January, 1984**

This is to certify that Qazi Ahmadullah  
has done his research work under my guidance  
and has completed his work successfully. This  
is an original contribution and entirely his  
own.

  
( Dr. R. R. Sherwani )  
Supervisor

THE LATE KHAN SAIF-UD-DIN

"he late Khan Saif-ud-Din, whose

secret aspiration of life came

to fruition even after

he had breathed his

last. Allah

bestow His

mercy on

his

soul.

# A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

Praise be to Almighty Allāh who bestowed upon me the fortitude to pursue this research project and to complete it successfully. I am highly thankful to the benign self of Professor Nazur-Jahān Sherwānī, presently, Head, Post Graduate Department of Arabic, University of Kashmir, without whose able, whole-hearted and affectionate guidance and supervision this work would not have seen the light of the day. My thanks are also due to Professor 'Aḥtānī-Bīn / Head, Head, Department of Arabic, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh for the paternal affection which he showered on me. Besides them I am thankful to :

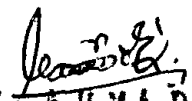
1. The library staff of the Govt. Ind Library, Sador war, Aligarh Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh and Government Degree College (Boys) , Anantnag Kashmir, whose active co-operation and meaningful assistance was always at my disposal ;

2. to my dear pupil Mir:Arshad Ahmad Satoo of Kashmir who typed out the thesis with great care and responsibility ;

3. to all those who were of help to me in the preparation of this thesis.

4. I shall fail in my duty if I do not thank my family members, whose active co-operation was a great source of strength for me.

Dated: 11-1-1974  
160, SME (Upper)  
Aligarh Muslim University,  
Aligarh.

  
NAZIR JAHAN SHERWANI,  
Lecturer in Arabic,  
Government Degree College (Boys),  
Anantnag Kashmir.

	<u>C o n t e n t s .</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
1.	Acknowledgement. ...	1
2.	Contents. ...	ii-iii
3.	Transliterations. ...	1
4.	Introduction. ...	2-4
5.	Chapter First. ...	5-65
a.	Chapter First - Part I. ...	5-32
	Political Conditions of Egypt in 19th and 20th Centuries. ...	5-32
b.	Chapter First Part II. ...	33-40
	Religious and Social Conditions of Egypt in 19th and 20th Centuries. ....	33-40
c.	Chapter First Part III. ...	41-65
(i)	Egypt - Literary and Intellectual Background during 19th and 20th Centuries. ...	41-45
(ii)	Prose Literature. ...	45-52
(iii)	Poetry. ...	52-59
(iv)	Journalism. ...	59-62.
(v)	Education. ...	62-65.
6.	Chapter Second. (Tāhā Husayn-Life and Works) ...	66-110
a.	Chapter Second - Part I. ( Life ) ...	66-93
b.	Chapter Second - Part II. ...	94-101
	An Appraisal of Tāhā Husayn's Personality. ...	94-102
c.	Chapter Second - Part III. ...	102-110
	Works. ...	102-110
7.	Chapter Third. ...	111-159
	Survey of Biographical Literature in Arabic. ...	111-159
(i)	Introduction. ...	111-114
(ii)	Brief History. ...	114-118
(iii)	Al-Sīrah al-Nabbawīyah By Ibn Hishām. ...	119-121
(iv)	Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā By Ibn Sa'd. ...	122-124
(v)	Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyah By Al-Sulamī. ...	125-127
(vi)	Al-Istī'āb Fī Ma'rifah al-Ashāb By Ibn'Abd-Al Barr... ..	128-130
(vii)	Kitāb al-Ansāb By al-Sam'ānī. ...	131-133
(viii)	Al-Muhammādūn Min al-Shu'arā' By Al-Qiftī. ...	134-136
(ix)	Mu'jam al-Udabā' By Yaqūt al-Rumī. ...	137-139
(x)	Wafayāt al-A'yān By Ibn Khallikān. ...	140-142
(xi)	Sk Siyar A'Lām al-Nubalā' By Al-Dhahbī. ...	143-144



		Page No
(xii)	Fawāt al-Wafayāt By Al-Kutubī.	145-146
(xiii)	Al-Hāfi Bi al-Wafayāt By Al-Safadī.	147-149
(xiv)	Al-Isābah Fī Tamīz al-Sahābah by Ibn Hajr al- 'Asqalānī.	150-152
(xv)	Al-Daw al-Lāmi' Li Ahal Al-Qarn al-Tāsi' by Al-Sakhāwī.	153-155
(xvi)	Nazm al-'Iqān Fī A'yān al-A'yān by Al-Suyūṭī.	156-157
(xvii)	Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah Bi A'yān al-Mi'ah al- 'Ashirah by al-Gazzī.	158-159
8.	Chapter Fourth.	160-263
	Survey of Biographical Literature written by Tāhā Husayn.	...
a.	Chapter Fourth - Part I (Biographies)	160-238
(i)	Introduction.	160-163
(ii)	Dhikrā Abī al-'Alā'.	163-173
(iii)	Falsafah Ibn Khaldūn al-Uṭimā'iyah.	173-175
(iv)	Ḥāfiẓ wa Shawqī.	176-178
(v)	'Alā Ḥamīsh al-Sīrah.	178-188
(vi)	Ma'al-Mutanabbī.	189-200
(vii)	'Uṭmān (Part I of al-Fitnah al-Kubrā)	200-213
(viii)	'Alī wa Bamūh (Part ii of al-Fitnah al-Kubrā)	213-227
(ix)	Al-Shaykhān.	228-238
b.	Chapter Fourt Part II (Autobiographies)	...
	Al-Layyām.	239-263
9.	Chapter Fifth.	264-330
	Comparison between Tāhā Husayn and his contemporary biographers.	...
a.	Chapter Fifth - Part I (Biographies)	264-309
b.	Chapter Fifth - Part II (Autobiographies)	310-330
(i)	Anā by 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād.	310-316
(ii)	Ḥayātī by Ahmad Azīn.	317-324
(iii)	Kitāb al-I'tirāf by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Shukrī.	325-330
10.	Conclusion.	331-341
11.	Bibliography.	342-349



## INTRODUCTION

The literary renaissance of Egypt received great impetus from a number of writers who were equally well versed in the Oriental heritage and the European literature. This galaxy consists of quite a few names and the name of Tāhā Ḥusayn exquisitely shines among them. In fact, within this galaxy, he was a pivot round which many stars revolved. His contribution to the modern Arabic literature is singularly note-worthy and his style is unique. It is an accepted fact that his impact on the modern Arabic literature is more pronounced than that of any of his contemporaries.

While the present writer was doing his post-graduation in the Department of Arabic at Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh he was called upon, from time to time, by his able teacher<sup>5</sup> to write on various topics concerning modern Arabic literature. It was during those days that the charm, veracity and lucidity of style, well knit sentences, fanciful presentation, deep knowledge and charming diction of this blind scholar of Egypt - Tāhā Ḥusayn - fascinated him so much that he wished to conduct research on some aspects of his writings. But certain personal reasons, including financial and family problems, prevented him from doing so. It was in January, 1980 that he met his respected teacher, Professor Muḥammad-Ḥusayn Ḥamad, Head, Department of Arabic, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, who very graciously advised him to consult revered Dr. Ḥusayn-Ḥusayn Ḥamad, Head, Department of Arabic, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, presently Professor and Head, Post-Graduate Department of Arabic, University of Kashmir in this respect and he advised him to choose "Tāhā Ḥusayn's Contribution to the Biographical Literature of Arabic" as the topic of his research. This topic appealed to the mind of the researcher

---

Immediately an earnest attention has been paid to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn as a literary critic or sometimes as a fiction writer or educationist but rarely as a biographer. In April, 1980 the topic was approved by the Committee of Advanced Study and Research and Dr. M. Shamsi was appointed supervisor who gave his valuable suggestions regarding the technique and methodology of research. The research has been carried out under his able and affectionate supervision.

The ~~research~~ thesis has been divided into five chapters. What has been said in the thesis may briefly be summed up as follows :-

When in 1805, after many centuries of foreign rule, the Egyptians selected an Albanian soldier Muḥammad 'Alī as their ruler, they pinned all hopes of their progress on him and it is a fact that Muḥammad 'Alī, to a great extent, came up to their expectations. The reforms carried by him in land, revenue, education, politics and the like had immense impact on the Egyptian society. Since then the Egyptian society underwent many changes in the political, social, cultural, educational, economic, literary and religious fields. The literary renaissance was responsible for widening the mental horizon of the Egyptians in general and the Egyptian scholars in particular. An attempt has been made by the present writer to give an brief account of the developments in these fields from Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 to 1952 when the military Revolution took place so as to serve as the background of the thesis.

It has been an attempt of the present writer to give a brief life sketch of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, an account of the various factors that modelled his outlook, of his social, political, literary, religious and educational activities, an appraisal of his personality and a comprehensive list of his works arranged chronologically to have an idea of his busy literary career.

The treasure of the Arabic Literature is rich in biographies. Its abundance has made many to say wrongly that the Arabs were the pioneers of the art. Biographies, Biographical Dictionaries, Autobiographies and Travellers' Reminiscences

are shades of this literature. This literature passed through a number of stages, each of them had its own specialities. Besides throwing light on these and other related aspects some fifteen biographical works by as many writers have been dealt with in some detail as they seem to the present writer to may be the most representative of this art in Arabic. They have been selected from Ibn Hishām's time to the turn of the nineteenth century.

Tāhā Ḥusayn's multi-dimensional personality was productive of multi-faceted literature. As far as the biographical literature is concerned, he wrote on the heroes of the distant as well as the immediate past. These works are, in many ways, different from those written on the traditional pattern. The characteristics of his autobiography, *Al-Ayyām*, continue to remain unsurpassed to this day. Deep knowledge of history, expert handling of the material and masterly presentation are some qualities of his biographical works which even his opponents do not contest. The present writer has attempted to critically examine the worth of these works and has tried hard to be guided by reason, logic and historical evidence alone.

Aḥmad Ḥusayn Kayāl, Abū al-Mahmūd al-Aḥqāf, Aḥmad Anīn and 'Abd al-Shamān al-Jakrī were some of the most distinguished contemporary writers of Tāhā Ḥusayn. The former two have written many biographical works while the latter two have written autobiographies. The present writer has attempted to conduct a comparative study of the biographical works of Tāhā Ḥusayn with those of the above mentioned four writers and has tried to point out the method of research and style of presentation of each of them.

In the conclusion an attempt has been made to briefly describe the position Tāhā Ḥusayn occupies among the biography writers of Arabic as also to describe the main features of his form and style with particular reference to the biographical literature produced by him. Further more, the present writer has tried to point out as to what precisely has been the contribution of Tāhā Ḥusayn to the biographical literature of Arabic. The view point expressed by him is solely his own and he is aware of the fact that in literature nothing can finally be said and further research may modify the conclusions drawn by him.

## CHAPTER I

Egypt in the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Centuries.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF EGYPT IN 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES.

Due to the misrule and oppressive attitude of Mamlūks, Egypt was at the brink of getting broken and the Egyptian population was thinning due to the famines which afflicted them off and on. They were looking, with hope, for some one to come and save them from the misery which had gripped them as a result of this misrule. It seems as if Napoleon had been destined to be a man longly awaited by the Egyptians. He launched his expedition in 1798, proclaiming himself to be a friend of Sultan of Turkey and Islām. But centuries of sufferings had taught the Egyptians that all foreign rule was bad, so they did not welcome the forty thousand strong army of Napoleon. Forgetting all their miseries, they rallied round Mamlūks, who gave a sustained and tough resistance to Napoleon and his army which was armed to the teeth. As a result, within six months of his landing in Egypt, all his efforts to subdue the Egyptians got frustrated. But this could not compell Napoleon to vacate Egypt. England, for its own interests, was keenly interested to ward off the French from Egypt, so it reached an agreement with Sultan of Turkey to co-operate in compelling the French to give up their aggression. The agreement contained a clear provision that the British would leave Egypt after normalcy was restored. On March, 8, 1801, the British landed in Egypt with seventeen thousand five hundred strong army which was actively supported by the Turkish and the Egyptian forces. This joint counter offensive culminated in the final victory of the joint forces on October 18, 1801. But, compelled by their nature and sinister designs, the British delayed their departure from Egypt which resulted in bitter protests by France and culminated in the Treaty of 1802 which restricted the authority of England over Egypt and France was made co-sharer of the dividants.

- 
1. Cachia, Pierce, Taha Husayn - His place in the literary Renaissance of Egypt: PP: 3.
  2. Tarikh Misar as Siyasī by Amin Sa'id - PP: 11-12.
  3. Tom Little: Modern Egypt: PP: 29.
  4. Amin Sa'id: PP: 33-38.

Nepoleon's invasion of Egypt was accompanied by such factors which resulted in the awakening of national feelings among the Egyptians and this led to the strengthening of the National Movement. The establishment of a printing Press, the works of one hundred twenty scholars ~~brought~~ brought to Egypt by him and the establishment of al-Majma' al-Fikri 'Ilmi al-'Arabi were but only a few important factors worthy of mention.

During their brief occupation of Egypt, the British restored the power of Sultan, but alien rule ~~had~~ had become so much a symbol of disgrace for the Egyptians now, that in 1805, a representative Egyptian delegation comprising of Shaykh al-Sharqawi (Rector of al-Azhar), 'Umar Makran (Head of Religious Nobility) and other Shaykhs was formed, who choose an Albanian Soldier, Mohammed Ali as their leader. Soon the Rector and 'Umar Makran presented a charter of demands to the Chief Judge, who failed to respond to it in time. This was enough for them to organise public demonstrations in which the Sultan was publicly deposed in absentia and Abu Bakar - the <sup>then</sup> Turkish ~~then~~ Governor of Egypt - was besieged until the Sultan agreed to withdraw and replace him by Mohammed Ali. It was a great triumph for the National Movement.

The only opponents of Mohammed Ali were Mamluks headed by one Alay Bay - an extravagant character - who virtually enjoyed the help and support of the British. Actually, in 1807, they had sent an expedition to establish his rule in Egypt. But, much water had flown down the Nile in six years which the British, unfortunately, did not foresee. As a result of it many of the members of the expedition were killed and their heads were publicly paraded on pikes in Cairo. The last hurdle was set aside by Mohammad Ali, who <sup>had</sup> killed four hundred Mamluk nobles whom he had invited to attend a party in a citadel.

---

1. Tom little: PP: 30.

2. Amin Sa'id: PP: 45

3. Tom little: PP: 31

4. Amin Sa'id: PP: 48-49 and N.C. Chatterji: Muddle of the Middle East: Vol. I. PP: 76-77.

5. Amos Perlmutter: Egypt: the preatman State: PP: 21.



It seems as if the lot of the Egyptian ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> destined to change for better under Mohammad 'Alī, who devised a new, better and, to a great extent, fool proof tax collecting method, investing in turn as much as £ 12 million in a national enterprise, bringing ~~as~~ millions of acres of land under cultivation and establishing as many as twenty thousand water wheels. Furthermore, he ordered that long staple cotton be sown and linked it with the international market at a stable rate of exchange, giving protection to this new industry.

Mohammad 'Alī was zealous to impose his will which was impossible in the absence of a strong army. This idea induced him to raise and train the army. He was so eager to see his plan succeed that in 1828, he had as many as ninety thousand strong army with an artillery training to equal his best in Europe. He put the army under the able command of his son, Ibrahim, who, agonised by Sultān, quarrelled with him and defeated his army at three places, reaching the gates of Constantinople. As a result of it the Sultān issued a decree (Farmān) for Mohammad 'Alī to rule Syria. This was enough challenge for the British who were less curious than agonised by this tremendous military power of Egypt and decided to put a seal in its onward march. As a result, in 1837, Britain occupied Port of Aden. The next year Egypt demanded commercial independence of the Port. Sultān failed to silence Mohammad 'Alī and Britain, releasing the seriousness of the situation, embarked on diplomatic efforts which culminated in the treaty of 1841, resulting in the international guarantee for Mohammad 'Alī and his eldest son of hereditary rule over Egypt and reducing its man power to eighteen thousand at the ~~Ras~~ port.

But it remains a fact that to maintain a huge army of two lac fifty thousand was too heavy a drain on National exchequer which ~~compared~~ nearly half

1. Ten Little: PP: 32-33.

2. Amin Sa'id: PP: 48-50 and Chatterji Volume I: PP: 79.

3. Ten Little: PP: 33-34.

of the national income, making it necessary to squeeze funds from poor peasants and, as a result, winning their wrath. Mohannad 'Alī was conscious of this fact and as such, he agreed to the treaty of 1841, which though freed ~~him~~ him from the burden of maintaining a huge army and helped him to get the support of the peasants, yet imposed a restriction which was most undesirable. The treaty provided that no officer could be recruited in the Egyptian army without the prior sanction of the Sultān. This, in fact, destroyed the base of the National Movement on which Mohammad 'Alī had built the castle of his power. Moreover, instead of Egyptianising Egypt he brought it near to foreign powers. This was neither desirable for nor understood by the Egyptians who felt themselves pushed <sup>in</sup> ~~up~~ the dark.

Being weary, seeing his ambitious forestalled and the trust imposed in him by his people breaking, he retired and at the age of seventy two, in 1847, he ~~past~~ passed on the viceroyalty to his son Ibrāhīm who followed the foot steps of his father.<sup>1</sup> This helped very little in doing the wrong right. The conditions warranted some revolutionary steps to be taken with due consideration to the achievements obtained and goals to be fulfilled. This he was neither capable nor desirous of doing. He died in 1848, a few months before the death of his father, who passed away in the following year leaving behind him traces of great achievements as well as history full of jerks and jolts. As a whole his rule geared up the National Movement in the right direction.<sup>2</sup>

Egypt was thirsting for an efficient ruler who could set the situation right. But, it had yet to see a period full of misery and anxiety which delivered a harsh blow to the National Movement and drew Egypt close to foreign occupation. After the death of Ibrāhīm in 1848, the next eldest son of Mohannad 'Alī, Ismā'īl became the ruler. No doubt, it was the ~~call~~ call of the time to repatriate the foreigners

---

1. Chatterji: Vol. PP: 80-81.

2. Ibid PP: 82.

and clear Egypt of their ominous presence, but it must have been done gradually, working out the list of preferences. Instead Isma'il did it at once and closed all schools, except the religious ones. As if it was not enough, he ~~not~~ reversed the existing method of tax collection which brought ruin to the villages, but filled the national exchequer for some time. ~~Thus~~ were given free pass to buy land and feudalism was encouraged. This was enough to rouse the sentiments of the Egyptians and Isma'il was murdered by his own body ~~guard~~ guard, after having misruled the country for five years.

Isma'il was succeeded by Sa'id, who was a very extravagant character. This extravagance in his character ~~was~~ all his reformative steps. The decision of constructing Suez Canal was, no doubt, very commendable which changed the shape of the events, but the terms agreed upon by him were not in the interest of the Egyptian economy and the National Movement. He invited Ferdinand de Lesseps to build Suez Canal in a period of six years. As per terms agreed upon, the digging of the Canal was to start in 1858. After its completion, a levy of ten francs per passenger or per ton was to be realised. The amount collected, as such, was to be divided among the parties and Egypt was to get only fifteen per cent of it. In addition, he agreed to give Suez Canal on lease to the British for ~~ix~~ ninety nine years and a passage through his land to the English soldiers to India to curb the first war of independence being fought in 1857. These measures brought Egypt close to foreign occupation. He died after four years of the start of work on Suez Canal.

Isma'il succeeded Sa'id in 1863. His reign got an auspicious start as cotton industry of America had got ruined due to the Civil War of 1861-1863. He raised the price of cotton. But again extravagance proved killing. A loan of seventy seven million pounds was secured though only fifty million pounds were delivered in cash, the rest being withheld as interest. When cotton boom failed, he was not in a position to repay the ~~debt~~ debt and pledged to his creditors the income from railway —

and royal domains.<sup>1</sup> This could not quench the thirst of money lenders who pressed hard, day by day, for the payment of loan and Isma'il, weary of his pennilessness ordered its postponement.<sup>2</sup> This was turned by the Britian as repudiation of debts to which France did not subscribe.<sup>3</sup> As a result a commission comprising of the representatives of the French, ~~and British~~, Australian and Italian governments was formed which held Isma'il responsible for ~~some of the~~ worsening the financial position.<sup>4</sup> Isma'il appointed Mr. Wilson as foreign minister and ~~Minister~~ Mr. M. de Blignieres as minister of public works, declaring that henceforth, he will be a constitutional ruler. But in an outburst of anger, army officers arrested the newly appointed ministers and released them ~~only~~ only on personal interference of Isma'il.<sup>5</sup> They demanded restoration of full powers to the Egyptian government but this demand was not accepted and Tawfiq was appointed as the President of the council.<sup>5</sup>

Isma'il was devoid of foresight which made him to commit a blunder of great magnitude when he sought to repeal the agreement made by Sa'id regarding the conditions governing building of Suez Canal. In the fourth year of the building of the Suez Canal, the company was nearing bankruptcy. It turned to Napoleon (III) for help whose wife Eugenia was the cousin of Ferdinand de Lesseps. The conditions laid down in the original agreement were onerous for Egypt, but the Egyptian leadership should not have lost the sight of this important development. Isma'il wanted to repeal the agreement, but the company resisted his demand. Isma'il, in a surprising display of rashness took the matter to Napoleon III who laid an indemnity of eighty four million francs on Isma'il for breaking the Treaty. This amount was nearly half of the total cost of the building of the Suez Canal. He paid another pounds three million to buy fifty percent shares. As such all

---

1. Durrā - ul - Islāh Fil 'Asar - al - Hadiṭh : Ahmad Amin: PP:63

2. Amin Sa'id PP: 87-93.

3. Lord Cromer PP:28.

4. Ahmad Shukrī: Farīḡh Mīṣr. (Translated PP:49-63.

5. Ahmad Amin PP:63-64.

the cost of building of Suez Canal was paid by Egypt. As a concession the  
company agreed to realise the interest on Khadive's shares upto 1865.

After remaining constitutional head for sixteen years, Isma'il once again tried his luck and turned for support to the Egyptian people. He appointed Sharif Pasha as leader of the liberal Faction, but it was too late. The foreign creditors had virtually besieged the country and ruled over it by decrees. Britain and France ~~pressured~~ pressurised him to abdicate. He gave a call for one lac fifty thousand people ~~to~~ to rise in arms against foreigners but no heed was paid to his call. As such he was deposed by the Sultan in 1879. It is estimated that the total loan had crossed the amount of one crore pounds - a potent factor to draw Egypt yet closer to foreign subjugation.

Sultan Abdul Hamid thought it an opportune time to repeal the decree he had issued in 1873 in favour of Khadive Isma'il, but the two powers (the French and the British) hastily came forward to save their interests by standing by the side of Khadive. In 1880, Sir Auckland came to Egypt to replace Major Baring. Sir Auckland had just had an experience of the first war of independence in India and his primary job in Egypt was to detest the alliance of the Egyptians officers in whom he saw resemblances of the Indian officers. Soon a draft constitution was presented to Tawfiq who rejected it and installed a new ministry in place of that of Sharif Pasha. The new ~~mini~~ ministry was headed by Riyas Pasha who appointed Uthman Pasha as minister of war. Rizqi Pasha was the most hated person in the army. As a result two officers, Ahmad Bay'Arabi and 'Abdul 'Al presented a charter of demands to the new Prime Minister asking for increase in pay and allowances of officers as well as removal of Rizqi Pasha as war minister. This was not agreed

1. Tom Little: PP: 39 and Ahmad Shakri: PP: 543-592 make an interesting study of the details about Suez Canal affair.

2. Lord Cromer: PP: 109.

3. Amin Safi: PP: 87-90.

4. Dr. Mohammad Mustafa Safwat, Misar-al-Hu'asirah: PP: 17

to and the two officers were put in jail. This resulted in infuriation in military rank and file and both these officers had to be released in view of the mounting pressure. Due to this Rizqī Pāshā had to resign and was replaced by Sāmī Bay. <sup>-1-</sup>

The events were heading towards more dramatic conclusions. After the release of 'Arābī and 'Abdul 'Aāl and resignation of Rizqī Pāshā the National Movement had gained momentum. A demand for full budgetary control was made. This was refused by the Colonialists giving rise to constitutional crisis. Sharīf Pāshā had to resign and Khadive Tawfīq appointed Sāmī Bay as Prime Minister and colonel 'Arābī as minister of war. <sup>-2-</sup>

Now, the European powers, <sup>was</sup> seriously thinking of eradicating the effects of the National ~~mov~~ Movements from the Egyptian soil but the actions taken in this direction did not but take the Movement to the extreme limit. Fire was added to the fuel by the fiery oratory of Shaykh al-Azhar, who, in all his sermons, prompted the Egyptians to go on strike. <sup>-3-</sup>

From 1911, the British and the French war ships patrolled the seas which was a clear sign of malicious designs on the part of the Colonialists. Sensing the trouble Colonel 'Arābī tried to strengthen his position and as such ordered earth work to be done at Alexandria which the Colonialists ordered to be stopped, within twenty four hours. Though the other side wanted some relaxation in the time limit, it ~~was~~ was not accepted and the fire was ~~opened~~ opened even when there was no earth work going on, leaving the town a heap of wreckage. <sup>-4-</sup> 'Arābī and his forces resisted the colonialists in all parts of the country but did not succeed. Thousands were killed and 'Arābī was banished. Thus the British achieved complete victory on 14<sup>th</sup> September, 1882 <sup>-5-</sup> and ruled the country directly for twenty two years to come. But hatred against them among the locals was so pronounced that they could

1. Cromer: PP: 149.

2. Amin Sa'īd; PP: 98-118.

3. Ford Little: PP: 44.

4. Cromer: PP: 221 and Mohamud 'Abdul Rehman Hursayn; Zikāh al-Shu'ib: PP: 57-58.

5. Ibid: PP: 60

-9-

-1-

never come to terms with the new military regime.

In the defeat of <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Arabi</sup> movement the germs of the rebirth of the Nationalist Movement in Egypt were hidden. Thousands of Egyptians who laid their lives to ~~and~~ their motherland against foreign exploitation, kindled a lamp in the hearts of the fellow Egyptians which, not only taught them to ~~str~~ strive for freedom, but also kept the fire of contempt against every foreign domination and dominator - burning in their hearts, an essential ingredient for Nationalist Movement. Fire was added to the fuel by the visit of Jamāl al Dīn al-Afḡānī (in March 1871-1879) who preached Islamic Revolution and found freedom loving Egyptians stretching their arms ~~wide~~ wide to welcome him and his ideas. Al-Azhar - the traditional seat of learning and school of preservation of freedom - provided him with able and trained orators who circulated his message throughout Egypt. His message penetrated in army more than in common masses, resulting in mass revolution of 1921. Sharīf Pāshā constitutional Nationalist Party and <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Arabi</sup> Movement were sailing in different directions. Sharīf Pāshā, with his shrewd tactics, tried to secure the right to govern for the Turks to which the British acted derogately in view of their broader colonialistic designs. This set one more element in action against their

-2-  
rule.

With the death of Tawfiq Ḥabās <sup>Ḥabās</sup> succeeded the throne in 1892. He was thought to be the pivot round whom the National Movement for liberation of Egypt would revolve. But soon it was clear that he was in no mood to risk his position and lead the National Party which was formed when he ~~asc~~ ascended throne. National Party found a leader in ~~Mustafa~~ <sup>Mustafa</sup> Kamīl, who was a man of letters. He published al-Liwa in English and French. This reached the ~~the~~ educated youth who found themselves mentally nearer to Mustafa Kamīl's National Party. This party truly revived

-3-

1. Tomb Little: PP: 45.

2. Ahmad Amin: PP: 316

3. Amin Sa'id: PP: 155-157.

the Egyptian Movement, because it ~~represented~~ the views of the middle class and the <sup>-1-</sup>Umma. To counter the growing popularity of the National Party (Hizb al-Istislahi), Lord Cromer decided to find a party of those persons who could be relied upon by him in the ~~execution~~ execution of his policies and who could oppose the Palace. So, in 1907, he formed the people's Party (Hizb al-Ummah). Hizb al-Ummah people thought ~~it~~ his support ~~it~~ to be a ladder for them to the seat of power. But, in ~~1909~~ 1909, Eldon Ghorst succeeded Lord Cromer who differed from his predecessor on this issue. Taha Husayn was the member of Hizb al-Ummah from its very inception<sup>2</sup>.

The policies of the first consul general of Britain in Egypt, Lord Cromer rotated round the despotic British rule and were concerned with squeezing the Udders until they were dry to fill the English Treasury in the name of realisation of the Udders. But ~~he~~ he conceded ~~to~~ to none of the demands of the Egyptians. Instead <sup>-3-</sup>he repeated many incidents like that of Dinshawai. When he left Egypt in 1907, and was succeeded by Sir Eldon Ghorst, who pursued his policies very faithfully. Lord Cromer had very tactfully hinted in his farewell address that every step towards democracy must be taken carefully, meaning thereby that there was yet enough in the Udders to squeeze. His successor was intelligent enough to read what lay between the lines.

With the sudden death of Mustafa Kamil in 1908, his National Party saw very <sup>-4-</sup>hard days of segmentation - each segment following its own path. At one stage or the other everyone of them raised the cry of 'Egypt for Egyptians'. This was ~~enough~~ enough for Eldon Ghorst to appoint Butrus Pasha Gali, a copt and Government <sup>-5-</sup>in Dinshawai case, as prime minister, thus widening the gap between the <sup>-6-</sup>

1. Mohammad 'Abdu'l -al Rehman: PP: 70-71 and Tom little: PP: 62.

2.

3. Amin Sa'id: PP: 162-167.

4. Mohammad Mustafa Safwat: PP: 86.

5. ~~Dr~~ Cachia: PP: 24.

6. Dr. Mohammad Mustafa Safwat: PP: 90.



Christians and the Muslims and working on the repeatedly tested tactics of <sup>1</sup>5  
 'Divide and Rule'. ~~But~~ Fury was fervered further by the Suez Canal affair, when  
 the British and the French pressed hard for extension in concession and the fever  
 ended in the murder of But<sup>-2-</sup>was Pasha <sup>Gali</sup>. National Party won its first success  
 when its one time leader Mohammad ~~Ali~~ Sa'id Pasha was appointed as prime minister  
 who very tactfully got the Suez Canal convention rejected from the National  
 Assembly, adding one more leader to the cap of the National Party and engineer-  
 ing enthusiasm in the Egyptian National Movement.

1911 saw the change in consul general. It was now Lord Kitcher, who, though  
 very hard task mater, had to concede to the demand of the people for constitution  
 and more civil liberties. As a result, in 1913, a draft constitution was promulgat-  
 ed and Sa'id Zaglul, who was Education Minister in 1906, but later left the ministry  
 - was appointed vice president of the legislative council. In 1917, world war I  
 broke out and the new consul general in Egypt was recalled. During world war I  
 the National Movement of Egypt was strengthened more than ever, because of the  
 forced labour and recruitment and also because of the forced collection of  
 grains and sick animals from the natives to feed the army and to keep the natives  
 hungry. Dethrowing of Isma'il Hilmi and Egypt being made an ally of the British  
 much against the wishes of Sultan of Turkey, who was an ally of Germany and  
 Suzerian of Egypt, further stirred anger against the British. National Party was  
 gaining popularity day by day and it attracted many capacious men to its fold,  
 especially Sa'id Zaglul, who was to be the political 'Arab' of Egypt.

In 1909, Sa'id Zaglul took the leadership of National Party in his own  
 hands and demanded full independence for Egypt - a stand which Britain was

---

1. Mohammad 'Abi ul-Rab: 74-75.

2. Arifin Sa'id: PP: 168-170.

not ready to concede to. He demanded that he should be invited to present his case in the peace commission being ~~in~~ held in France. Instead, the prime minister Rushdī Pāshā was invited. He was reluctant to go without Sa'ad Zaghlul and sent a request to the British Consul General to this effect. The request was rejected and, as a result, Rushdī Pāshā resigned on March 1, 1919. This forced the British Consul General in Egypt to write to British authorities to receive Sa'ad Zaghlul. But Egypt was not invited to the meeting which resulted in the flood of protests and revolts in which a number of persons lost their lives. The revolts were crushed by the British army for the time being and other  
-1-  
leaders were arrested and deported to Malta.

On March 25, 1919, Lord Allenby came to Egypt as High Commissioner, who declared ~~that~~ that Sa'ad Zaghlul and his party was free to go to Paris. This party was given the name of 'Wafd'. Thus the most powerful party under the name of 'Wafd' was formed and was ever since known by this name. Meanwhile, on November 10, 1919, a British Commissioner was appointed to work on constitution to guarantee the Civil rights to the Egyptians under British protectorate. It was to tour Egypt and submit its report to the British government. But, in response to the call by Sa'ad Zaghlul for complete boycott, streets were full of protesting mobs, who entered their houses only after leaving many of their  
-2-  
brethren dead. As a result Mohammad Sa'id Pāshā resigned from the premiership. Sa'ad Zaghlul was invited to London from Paris to discuss Milner Commission Report which he rejected. Then Adli Pāshā, the then Prime minister, was invited

---

1. Dr. Mohammad Mustafā Safwat; PP:103 and Tomb Little PP:73

2. Amin Sa'id; PP:186-187.

and he too did not dare to deviate from the path set by Sa'ad Zaghlul regarding this matter. On return from London he resigned. This was followed by powerful protests by the Egyptians and severe action by the British. As a result, on 28th of February, 1922, the 'Protectorate' was withdrawn and only the departments of Communication, security, and defence of Egypt and foreign nationals in Egypt and Sudan were looked after by Britain.

The growing popularity of Sa'ad Zaghlul and Wafd was ~~was~~ causing worryless nights to the Colonists who tried various ways to break its power by encouraging opposition in it. In fact, the process had begun very early and 'Adli Pasha and Tharwat Pasha were ~~main~~ main figures who played a leading role in it. Both of them were founder members of erstwhile Hizb al-'Irshad. In 1922, these leaders formed a break away group of Wafd which they named Hizb al-Ahmar-Dasturiyin (The liberal constitutionals). Dr. Taha Hussayn joined this party from its very inception and edited the literary section of 'al-Siyasah' - the mouth organ of the party. On April 19, 1923, Constitution was adopted declaring Islam as the religion and Sultan Fuad as King Fuad II, who appointed Tharwat Pasha as his prime minister. In July, 1923, the Martial law was lifted and after two months general elections were ordered to be held. Wafd secured ninety percent of the seats in the parliament. Sa'ad Zaghlul became prime minister and was sworn in on 24th of January 1924. After

an over whelming majority in the election bagging one hundred and eighty eight out of two hundred seats and securing ninety percent of the total votes polled. Sa'ad Zaghlul became prime minister and was sworn on 24th of January 1924. After assuming the charge of his office, he

1. Ibid: 191-195. (Amīn Sa'īd)

2. Dr. Mohammad Mustafā Safwat; PP: 113.

3. Ibid: PP: 33-34.

4. Ibid: 120-121.

pressed his demand for complete freedom. Meanwhile, a British Commander was murdered and differences arose between High Commissioner and Zaglūl ministry as a result of which Zaglūl resigned and Ziwār Pāshā was sworn in as prime minister. On December 24, 1924, King Faud dissolved the Assembly.

After the revolution of 1919, many leaders of Wafd, including Hassan 'Abd al-Razzāq, 'Alī 'Abd al-Razzāq, Mustafā 'Abd al-Razzāq and 'Adlī Pāshā had begun to show indifference in their attitude to the policies and programmes set by Sa'ad Zaglūl. It seems as if they were indirectly protesting against the arbitrary attitude of Sa'ad in managing the affairs of the Party. Soon Sa'ad put forward the slogan 'Complete independence or violent death'. Moreover, he insisted in the recognition of Egypt's independence as a preliminary condition of any negotiation with Britain.

Many well meaning leaders of Wafd differed with Sa'ad Zaglūl on the issue of complete independence, because they thought that this step was too drastic to keep pace with the prevailing conditions. In their opinion constitution was necessary and an essential primary step towards the ultimate goal. But, Sa'ad would not subscribe to their view point. This resulted in infighting and many members drifted away from the party and rallied round King Faud to form Union Party which was at times strengthened by liberal constitutionalists as both had common interests at stake. This had, to some extent, an adverse effect on the strength of Wafd and the Egyptian Nationalist Movement.

In the general elections held in 1927, Wafd got an overwhelming majority bagging two hundred seats out of two hundred fourteen. This time liberal constitutional party was an ally of Wafd. So Sa'ad Zaglūl proposed the name

- 
1. Ibid: 124-126. <sup>7 (Dr. Muhammad Mustafa)</sup> ~~2. Ibid: 124-126~~
  2. Rajā' al-Naqqash: PP: 35
  3. Cachia: PP: 57
  4. Amin Sa'id: PP: 20-207.
  5. Toynbee Little: PP: 80.

of 'Alī Pāshā for prime ministership and in order to foster integration in like minded parties Tharwat Pāshā and Mohammad Mohmūd were included in the ministry. Both these leaders belonged to Union Party. But it remains a fact that all powers were yielded by 'Wafdists'. Meanwhile, Sa'ad Zaghlūl passed away on August 23, 1927 and the ~~leader~~ leadership passed to Ilūs Pāshā, who, after the resignation of Tharwat Pāshā, formed a short lined ministry. On March 15, 1928, Soon King Fu'ād removed him from the office and invited Mohammad Mahmūd to form the ministry which lasted till the end of 1929.

Meanwhile, an important factor in the Nationalist Movement was added by the formation of 'Ikhwān al Muslimūn', which has been ~~from~~ from the date of its inception till today, playing an important role in the Egyptian ~~body~~ body politic. The political atmosphere of the country had been so modlled by the Colonialists that it encouraged nothing, but segmentation and dissent. Every party would like to remain in its shell and was ~~as~~ often subjected to internal or external factors of segmentation, ~~and dissent~~. Leg pulling was the fashion of the day among the politicians. As such they served the British interests more than their national interests. It was in these circumstances that Shaykh Hassan al-Banā - a government teacher - in collabrations with five of his associates, formed Ikhwan al-Muslimūn at Ismā'īliya, in March 1928. This small party of six members had sporadic growth in a very short span of time. The main problems which perturbed and preoccupied the brain of Shaykh Hassan al-Banā - the first elected Murshid 'Aam of Ikhwan al-Muslimūn - were negligence of religion in day to day body politic, control of the British on every branch of social, political and economic life of Egypt

---

1. Dr. Ishaq Musa al Husayni: Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun PP: 20

2. Ibid: 12 and Mohammad Shawqi Zaki: Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun wa-al-Mujtama' al-Misri: PP: 14.

construction of Suez Canal in collaboration with the colonialists and ever  
-1-  
increasing facilities extended to them.

In December, 1929 general elections were held in which, as usually, Wafd got an overwhelming majority and Nahas Pashā ~~became~~ became prime minister, but owing to the rejection of two bills by the King, he resigned and gave a call for a general protest. These protests were suppressed with an iron hand by the Colonialists. Quite against the expectations of the Wafdists and the liberal constitutionalists elections were held in May, 1931 under the amended election rules to defeat the Wafdists. ~~Isma'il~~ Ismā'īl Sidqī became the new prime minister, but compelled by his ill health, had to relinquish ~~his~~ his post in September, 1933. -2-

On 17 November, 1930 Ismā'īl Sidqī pashā, formed Hizb al-Sha'b (the People's Party). It is said that this party was in full control of the palace. Its emergence was taken to be a ~~big~~ threat to the national cause by Wafdists and Liberal Constitutionalists alike. So they came close to each other and a cool trill between the two parties was fostered. We see a remarkable change developing in Dr. Tāhā Hussayn's attitude towards Wafd which got fully manifested in March, 1933, when he accepted the editorship of 'al-Kawkab al-Sharq', the mouth organ of Wafd. -3- From this date to the end of his formal political career in July, 1952 he maintained his ties with this party.

In 1935, circumstances compelled King Fu'ād to declare that the constitution of 1923 would be revived and reinforced and elections would be held in 1936. When these elections were held, as ~~expected~~ <sup>expected</sup>, Wafd won and Nahas Pashā was appointed new prime minister. King Fu'ād died on April 25, 1936 and his son,

---

1. Dr. Ishāq Mūsā al-Hussaynī; PP: 27

2. Amin Sa'īd; PP: 226-230.

3. <sup>d-4-</sup>Ab. Rehman Badawi; PP: Preface.

Fārūq, succeeded him. On August 26, 1936, an agreement was reached between the government of Britain on one side and Nāḥās Pāshā (as a leader of the ruling Wafd Party) on the other, which enabled Egypt to become a member of League of Nations. The application for membership was formally endorsed in 1937. The treaty provided that Egypt shall stand by the side of Allies ~~in~~ in case any war broke out between them and the Germans. The Egyptian population got divided on this issue but Nāḥās Pāshā declared; Treaty ensures end to foreign domination, recognise <sup>-1-</sup>g right to freedom and guarantees internal and external freedom.

But this exploitation could not convince the dissidents who formed Sa'ad Wafd marking the beginning of segmentation in Wafdist Party. Soon Wafd and Palace were draggers drawn at each other and parades of Blue Shirts (Wafdist) Volunteers and Green Shirts (Union Party Volunteers) clashed with each other in the streets of Cairo. In one such clash, Nāḥās Pāshā was wounded, but survived the injuries thus sustained. He was removed from the office in 1937 and the office continued to change hands. In 1939, World War broke out and Egypt, by virtue of the 1936 Treaty found itself in the camp of allies, who very cunningly, declared that they were the champions of weaker sections and fought for them. But this carried little weight with the Egyptian masses. King Fārūq himself wanted to remain impartial, <sup>-2-</sup> but was unable to do so. This generated wild protests and ~~the~~ severe criticism. Most severe and voiceferous criticism came from Ḥizb al-Muslimīn, whose first entry into the field of the politics took place by way of writing letters to the Heads of States of Muslim countries to ensure the ~~introduction~~ introduction of Islamic form of government in their countries and particularly in Egypt. This party had

---

1. Ibid: PP: 247-250.

2. Ibid: PP: 259-265.

by now wielded great power among the people and had penetrated the rank and file of army. It was difficult for any government to bring the prevailing unrest under control and this created embarrassing position for British, who wanted an ear end to these protests. They decided to invite Nahās Pāshā to form government but <sup>he</sup> declined their invitation. Thus came the famous warning that if King Fārūq failed to induce Nahās Pāshā to form the government by 6 P.M. on February 4, 1942 the entire responsibility of the consequences will be that of the Royal Palace. But, Nahās Pāshā refused to be cowed down by the warning and Lord Killearn, accompanied by tanks and artillery forces, entered the Palace and got done by force what he could not do by warning. Nahās Pāshā formed the government and unrest was brought under control. <sup>-2-</sup> Nahās Pāshā compensated by getting a ~~law~~ bill passed by the Parliament making Arabic necessary for official correspondence <sup>-3-</sup> and economic dealings. This was the greatest blow to the foreign money lenders.

Ikhwān al-Muslimūn would not allow any one to be a tool of foreign domination and <sup>they</sup> were always at variance with the <sup>policy</sup> taken by Nahās Pāshā which resulted in crack down on them by the government, but they bore the brunt with patience, fortitude and courage until the Nahās government had to be removed in 1944 after world war II <sup>-4-</sup> ended. After this confrontation with the government Ikhwān grew more patriotic, more freedom loving than <sup>before</sup> and more aggressive than they had been.

After world war II came to an end, there was a general demand for complete withdrawal of the British Troops and full independence for ~~Egypt~~ Egypt. Qidqī Pāshā II took over as prime minister on 17 February 1946 and February 21, 1946

1. Mohammad Shawqi Zaki: PP:19-20.

2. Dr. Mohammad Mustafa Safwat: PP:156

3. Tomb Little PP:89-90.

4. Mohammad Shawqi Zaki: PP:21.



was declared to be general protest day. Soon Britain sent its Foreign Office for ~~talks~~ talks with Sidqi Pasha II, but Ikhwan demanded immediate end to the <sup>-1-</sup> talks. Sidqi Pasha II negotiated an agreement with Britain which, among other things, did guarantee complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Cairo and Alexandria before <sup>-2-</sup> March, 31 1947, and from other parts of Egypt before September 1, 1947.

As stipulated in the treaty of 1936, Britain evacuated Cairo and Alexandria but were not in a mood to comply by the other part of the treaty, proving beyond doubt the validity of the ~~uk~~ call given by Ikhwan not to trust the colonialists. Moreover was taken to the security council which rejected the ~~uk~~ call.

During world war I, in a meeting of the ~~so~~ so called Zionist Congress, <sup>-3-</sup> held in New York, ~~was~~ was raised the call for a Jewish state. Jews, by the help of their vast mass media and powerful pressure lobbies in America and Britain, were able to mobilise the opinion of the Americans ~~and the Britishers~~ and the Britishers in favour of their demand. The American government, outwardly, remained indifferent to their pleading while the British government was more or less pro-Zionist. Both these powers shaped the Palestinian Issue in such a way that justification was given to the appointment of commissions and committees to study the issue and present their findings. The situation was further intensified by promoting unlawful immigration from all over the world to Palestine with the active connivance, dexterity and support of Britain and America. Jews took to terrorism. An attempt <sup>-4-</sup> was made by Britain to take the matter to the United Nations claiming that it

1. Ibid: 24 (Mohammad Shawqi Zuhri) 2. Dr. Mohammad Mustafa Safwat; PP: 160

3. Chatterji; Vol: II PP: 2.

4. Ibid; PP: 5.

Was a special case which fulfilled all requisites for discussion in this Assembly, but the Arab League rejected this claim. Events were so hastily changing from bad to worse that on 28th of April, ~~India~~ 1947, 'United Nations' General Assembly discussed the issue and decided upon the appointment of a Committee of eleven ~~member~~ member states to discuss and report on the future of Palestine. Seven of its members recommended the bifurcation of Palestine. The report was discussed in the General Assembly and voted on 29th of November, 1947. Thirty three members voted in favour, thirteen against and ten ~~ab-~~  
 -2-  
 sided. Thus it paved way for the birth of the illegitimate son of the Capitalists and the Communists and planted a lance in the heart of the Arabs. The unrest in the country became very severe, because the government had utterly failed. Ikhwan al-Muslimum held meetings and organised processions to protest strongly against the move ~~this~~ and demanded the resignation of the Minister. King Farūq was urged to take necessary steps in consultation with the opposition leaders. The situation warranted cool thinking, co-ordination of action and co-operation of opposition parties within the country as well as of the Arab states. But, in a singular display of rashness, war was proclaimed against Israel (May, 15 1948) to January 14, 1949) without even seeking an assurance from other Arab countries, ~~or~~ by Egypt. It was done only to direct the prevailing unrest  
 -3-  
 among the common masses towards the new problem posed by the war - really an  
 -4-  
 unexplainable ~~its~~ stand from any accepted moral or patriotic standard.

It will be of some interest to mention here that the Arab League was born on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1945 at a time when world war II was nearing its end. A band

- 
1. Chatterji: Vol. II: PP: 9.
  2. Ibid: PP: 12-13.
  3. Dr. Saifwat: PP: 316-317.
  4. Dr. Mohammed Mustafā Saifwat: PP: 162.

of young military officers of Egypt accused Britain of making this league a tool to perpetuate colonialism by setting up Arab rulers against their own people. This opened a new phase in Egyptian nationalism, popularly known as <sup>-1-</sup> Revolutionary Pan-Arabism. These officers were always apprehensive of the attitude of King Fārūq whom they saw more interested in saving ~~himself~~ his throne than caring for the national interests. The shape of the events had convinced them that the British rule and the institution of Monarchy in Egypt were dependent on each other. And when United Nations voted in favour of the partition there were heterogeneous elements in the Arab Palaces throughout the Arab world. Though Arabs were determined to resist, yet were not bound by a common goal. Syria and Transjordan were interventionists for different reasons, Iraq and Lebanon were lukewarm, Saudi Arabia and Egypt were, in no way, anxious to intervene. Yet, all these states attacked new born Israel. Despite their huge numerical strength, Arabs lost the battle. Main causes which led to their shameful defeat were internal dissensions, popular apathy, obsolete weapons <sup>-2-</sup> and military inefficiency. Military disaster shaped the programme of the revolutionary officers. The humiliation of defeat they had to suffer at the hands of a handful of Jews, provoked serious thinking among them and they were unanimous in placing the blame on King Fārūq. It was actually at the war front that the fate of King Fārūq and his corrupt political regime was sealed. The operation was a matter of time. Britain could not escape the blame of supplying obsolete weapons to the Egyptian Army. It will, perhaps, be safe to say <sup>-3-</sup> that the revolution really started on the battle field and ended in the Palace.

1. Ibid: PP: 104. (Dr Mohammed Mustafa Safwat)

2. Chatterji. Vo: II: PP: 105.

3. Ibid PP: 105-106.

With the proclamation of war against Israel, the government forces were very active, <sup>by</sup> assisted by Ikhwān volunteers who, in most fronts, formed the first line of offence as well as defence. Their spirits were very high and they inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. Their bold stand at war front and home front, won for them great appreciation of the nation. Ahmad Muqrashī Pashā - the then prime minister was greatly astonished by this appreciation and was stuck with the onerous idea of banning the activities of Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. On December 8, 1948, when war was in full swing and Ikhwān Mujahidīn were engaged in encounters with the enemy, came the shocking order of dissolution of the party. Shaykh Hassan al-Banā tried to bridge the gap between his party and the Government, but to no avail. Top leaders, except Shaykh Hassan al Banā, were arrested. On December 23, 1948, Ahmad Muqrashī was assassinated and his assassination ended all hopes of compromise.

It will be interesting to note that the Socialist movement had begun to make its foundations strong in Egypt as early as 1902 when the first ~~trade~~ trade union was registered. In 1948, when Ikhwān al-Muslimūn was banned, there were as many as four hundred seventy eight such trade unions with a membership of one lac twenty four thousand, most of whom were Communists. As against it, by 1944, Ikhwān al-Muslimūn had at least half a million active members. In October 1945, a 'Workers' Committee of National Liberation' under the leadership of Mustafā Hūsē had been formed. The party had definite contacts with Soviet Embassy in Cairo.

It was simply a sad and desperate decision arrived at by the government of Ibrāhīm 'Abdul Hādī to kill Shaykh Hassan al Banā. In early morning on Saturday,

---

1. Mohammad Shams Shawki Zaki PP:25.

2. For a little 95-96.

February 12, 1949, when the Shaykh was coming out of his home, a number of shots were fired on him by the occupants of a motor car No: 9979, which belonged to -1- -2- Home Ministry and he got killed. In fact, it was a murder engineered by State. His assassination sent shock waves down the spine of the nation, and his death was mourned by it. Hassan al-Hudaibi was elected as new <sup>President</sup> Muss'hid of Ikhwan al Muslimun.

Since the distance between complete independence and Egypt was shortening day by day, every party was keen to see that the shape of the final events takes place in its favour and the Ikhwan were no exception to it. They risked the lives of thousands of their followers to see that free Egypt was modelled on Islamic lines as they saw it. This was directly in contrast with the thinking of Ibrahim 'Abdul Hadi who put himself soul and mind in the campaign to eradicate the influence of the Islamists represented by Ikhwan al-Muslimun. He started a massive campaign to purge the society and clear it of Ikhwan stock. It will be interesting to note that out of four hundred and seventy ~~or~~ eight trade unions registered in 1948, he closed down only eleven quasi-communist organisations. But with all this he could not rule beyond 1949, because King Faruq had developed deep rooted differences with his policies. The King reached a secret understanding with Wafd and the Wafd, in spite of their internal differences, with two hundred twenty eight seats out of three hundred nineteen in the elections held in January ~~1950~~ 1950.

Najib Pasha was appointed as prime minister and he took Dr. Taha Hussayn in his cabinet as minister of Education. This ministry had a life of two years and some odd months and for this period Dr. Taha Hussayn served the nation in his capacity as Education minister. It will be interesting to note that this

---

1. Mohammad Shawkat Zaki: PP: 33.

2. Tom Little: PP: 103.

3. Ibid: 90.

4. Dr. Mohammad Mustafa K Safwat: PP: 163.

was the last ministry formed by any ~~genuinly~~ genuinely elected political party in Egypt and, as such, end to the democratic process in the country. Perhaps it is the main reason as to why Taha closed his formal political career after July, 1952, when Army took over the control of the country.

Soon assuming the office of premiership, Nāḥs Pāshā declared that Treaty of 1936 had lost its validity and that Britian should evacuate Egypt. When Britian refused to oblige, he tabled a decree abrogating the Treaty unilaterally. This was a step which really proved a turning point in the ~~his~~ history of Egypt. On the interior front prices continued to go on and necessities of life continued to be out of reach of the poor which caused unrest of great magnitude. Nāḥs used the trump and lifted the ban on Ṭḥwān and released its followers. But, it could not help, because Ṭḥwān leadership continued to press their demand to overthrow <sup>-1-</sup> against the British rule.

Cairo ~~witnessed~~ witnessed bitter riots in which business houses, Cinemas, hotels, bars, foreigners' clubs and Britishers' property were looted and burnt. Army was brought in to control the riots and ~~maintain~~ maintain peace. In the office of premiership continued to change hands and finally rested in the hands of Najuib Pāshā Ḥilālī. There were signs of calendistines movement in the army which King Faruq sensed with alarm. He suggested Najuib Pāshā Ḥilālī in his ministry Karīm Pāshā a Zhabāt as war minister.

Meanwhile, the army High Command met to decide as to what appropriate action it must take. Jamāl 'Abdul Nāsir drafted a plan for revolt and it was worked

out in detail by Major 'Abdul Haki<sup>3</sup>m 'Asmīr and Major Kamāl al-Dīn. Pressed by the conditions operation was launched on July 22, 1952 and resistance, if any, by the political parties and the palace was firmly crushed. By July 23, 1952, <sup>-1-</sup> army was in full control of Egypt. All political parties were dissolved, their assets confiscated and warning issued against any resistance. 'Wafd declared its <sup>-2-</sup> intention to resist, but soon subdued. Co-ordial relations with Iḥwān al-Mus'irūn were maintained as it was apprehended that it would have adverse effect if it was touched or teased. Shāykh Hassan al Banā's alleged plotter, Ibrāhīm 'Abdul Hādī was sentenced to death, but later this sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. King Fāruq ~~was~~ <sup>-3-</sup> was exiled and on June 18, 1953 the institution of monarchy was ended for ever. There arose differences in the government on the issue of land reforms resulting in the breaking of Regency Command Council (RCC) When upon General Najuib became Prime minister and Colonel Jamāl 'Abdul Nāsir Deputy Prime Minister on September 15, 1953, a Revolutionary Court was formed which included Anwar Sādāt among its three judges.

It will be interesting to note that soon after the establishment of the Military rule, General Najuib and Colonel Jamāl 'Abdul Nāsir went to the graveyard of Shāykh Hassan Banā, offered 'Fatiha to his soul and praised eloquently the role of Iḥwān al-Muslimūn played under his leadership in the complete freedom <sup>-4-</sup> of Egypt from foreign yoke.

---

1. Dr. Mohammad Mustafa Safwat: 175-176.

2. Mohammad 'Abd-el Reḥmān PP: 300-306

3. Dr. Mohammad Mustafa Safwat PP: 177 and Amos: PP: 50

4. Mohammad Shauqi Zakī: 11: 4-35.

General Najuib, weary of young officers, wanted either ~~not~~ to wield power in full ~~not~~ or to quit as all policies and programmes were executed in his name but to ~~not~~ of the ~~not~~ ~~not~~. Further Colonel Nāsir tried to strengthen his position by establishing public contacts. The differences continued to become deep rooted till, compelled by the circumstances, Najuib resigned his post on February 20, 1954. This alarmed the nation and there was a partial ~~not~~ coup in Artillery Division. General Najuib was considered to be the only person to resist the dictatorial attitude of Regency Command Council, so street protests conducted and led by Wafd, Ikhwan al-Muslimun and other groups were held ~~not~~ by the ~~not~~ circumstance. Najuib was invited to become president of the country. Much against his wishes Colonel Nāsir became Vice President. Opposition felt triumphant that Najuib would ~~not~~ Parliamentary ~~not~~ form of government will be established. Nāsir re-estimated the situation and when General Najuib was away in Khartūm, he launched a campaign against Ikhwan al-Muslimun and some other groups including ring leaders of the cavalry. Nāsir met trade union leaders and left them ready to meet any situation created by Ikhwan in case they decided to move to the streets. On his return, Najuib pressed the demand for election to Parliament which was acceded to and ban on all political parties, including Ikhwan al-Muslimun, was lifted. Regency Command Council decided not to form a party to contest the elections. Liberation Rally and Trade Unions led by the communists organised protests against Regency Command Council decision to hold elections. Jamāl Abū al-Nāsir forced Najuib to resign as president.

---



and occupied the post himself. The decision to hold election was withdrawn and ~~executed~~ censorship imposed. This was done in the spring of 1954.

Then followed a period of continuous struggle between Colonel Nāsir and Iḥwān al-Muslimūn, who would in no case agree to negotiate a settlement with Britain, especially by a military regime, which when coming to office, had started measures to end the British occupation in toto. A drama to kill Colonel Nāsir in which a trained revolver holder, only six rows diagonally away from Colonel Nāsir, fired six shots, but could break nothing except a bulb hanging high over the head of Colonel Nāsir - was staged and members of Iḥwān al-Muslimūn were killed in street fightings imprisoned and hanged. Most prominent among those ~~hanged~~ hanged being Shaykh Muhammad Farḡhaly and Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir 'Audaḥ. This ended the titular rule of Najīb and Colonel Nāsir became all powerful in Egypt.

Colonel Nāsir negotiated an agreement with Britain whereby it was agreed by Britain to evacuate Egypt, i.e. to withdraw its troops after the signing of the agreement with the condition that base in Egypt would be provided and used by British ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~curlians~~ <sup>for</sup> and, in times of war, by British soldiers. ~~Britain was very much~~ <sup>concerned</sup> The treaty was signed on July 27, 1954. Britain was very much concerned to safeguard the interests of its nationals in Egypt for which it thought that the revival of the institution of monarchy was sure guarantee. This is why that they pressed for the same prior to the signing of the treaty. This was agreed to by Colonel Nāsir ~~if~~ though never translated in action. ~~between the military rule and Britain was signed in.~~ In 1956, King Husayn of

Jordan dismissed John Bagot Glubb from the Arab Legion command. British thought that this act had been performed at the behest of Colonel Nāsir, though it has never been proved conclusively. It remained, more or less, one party government in Egypt upto the death of Colonel Nāsir and it continues to be the ~~dx~~ same upto date.

The new constitution promulgated on July 23, 1956 declared Egypt as an Islamic State, Arab in its composition, democratic in its political aim and republican in its organisation. Constitution gave vast powers to ~~president~~ president and all powers were virtually monopolised by him and Revolutionary Council. In the plenitude of legislative and executive powers president of Egypt was nothing less than a dictator. President Nāsir's attitude was more pan-Arab than pan-Islamic. Common Muslims lent support to his policies also, because they love their country ~~more~~ than anything.

\*\*\*\*\*

Foreign domination kills initiative of an individual and has adverse effect on his moral, thinking, will power, self respect and everything that is necessary to make him a useful and praise worthy person. Even his religious thinking gets blurred, because the revolutionary spirit of religion is against oppression of every kind. Under foreign domination this spirit is gradually killed till religion becomes a code of rituals to be performed regularly or after intervals. This is why that no impact of religion on social life is felt. Wealthy people serve as pillars of dominating forces and poor fear them in the same way as a goat fears a wolf. 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Khalidi has said the same thing in these words, "all those who attribute our (Egyptian) backwardness to ignorance, poverty and religion are wrong as well as right, because foreign domination ~~withholds~~ withholds them to say what they know."

This was true of Egypt in the 19th century when the Egyptians followed ~~unwisdom~~ in religion more faithfully than the religion provided by the Qur'an and Sunnah. Ignorance was wide spread and in <sup>ignorance</sup> religion the ~~abuses~~ abuses in religion multiply and superstitions grip the nation resulting in retardation of much cherished moral and religious values. To common man religion meant that code of sacred rituals which can be performed like a machine; in which brain and ~~musculoskeletal~~ soul need not be engaged and which loses its flexibility outside the four walls of ~~the~~ mosque. This is why that upto the last quarter of the 19th century, religion could not infuse into the Egyptians the spirit of revolution.

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mahir Hassan al-Fahmi: Qasim Amin: PP: 21.

Hence an explanation for Nationalism as the basis of Nationalist Movement of Egypt.

In 1871, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afḡānī - an active Pan-Islamist and a revolutionary in real sense - visited Egypt. He could very soon discern the causes of poverty and ignorance among the Egyptians and, as a matter of fact, among Muslims all over the world which, he is said to have rightly ascribed, as detached from real religion. He very much tried to inculcate in them the spirit of revolution based on Islam and rouse in them the deep rooted desire for reform. He says addressing the Egyptians :-

"Get up from your drowsiness, live like other nations - free and prosperous  
-1-  
or be martyrs and God will reward you."

He forcefully said that Islam has liberated reason so that, "it must humble itself before God alone and be bounded in its speculations

only by the limits set by the Faith." He said, "The lone thing by which people attain superiority (in ISLAM) is superiority of intellect and moral and nothing else ... Islam has made education obligatory for all and achievement of

Proficiency in every branch of religion is appreciable. He says, "Verily, Islam has opened doors of respect for every one; rights of religious minorities estab-  
-2-  
lished for every one; considerations of race have been eradicated and

superiority of particular sect has been done away with. He roused in them respect

for their golden heritage by saying, "Look at Ahrāms; huge buildings of Mānfis; remains of Tinn; scenes of Asyūt and fortresses of Dīmyāt - All are witness to

the respect and honour of your forefathers. Wake up from your long sleep, get  
-3-  
~~not~~ rid of your intoxication, live gracefully and freely like other nations.

---

1. Quoted by Dr. Ishām al-Fīṣṣafā Jafwat Misar-al-Mu'asir: PP: 304.

2. Quoted by Cachia: PP: 14.

3. Quoted by Ahmad Amin: Zuhā al-Islām PP: 79

4. Dr. Māhir Hassan Fakhri: 11: 18.

5. Quoted by Ahmad Amin: PP: 59, 73

With such forceful writings he created a religious awakening of great dimension. He was ordered to ~~leave~~ leave Egypt in 1880.

When Jamāl al-Dīn ~~al~~ Afḡānī decided to leave Egypt in pursuance of the eviction order issued to him, some of his friends and well wishers in Egypt presented him some money so that it may be of some help to him when he most needed it. But he refused to accept the money saying, "Wherever the lion goes his prey does not escape him." He turned the coin on the colonialists when he ~~soon~~ started the publication of a monthly Journal, al-'Urwat al Wuthqā from France in which he pleaded the case of the Egyptian independence from foreign yoke and need for the Muslim awakening, with a voice more powerful, magnific and fearless than before and with sentiments more burning than ever. The journal was edited by his valiant, faithful and capacious disciple, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh who accompanied his great teacher in his exile and whose pen was productive of masterpieces of revolutionary essays. To kindle the fire of contempt in the hearts of the Egyptians against foreign domination, flames were acquired from the French revolution of 1876. Al-Urwat-al-Wathqā ~~was~~ was regularly smuggled into Egypt. The write ups appearing in it and the details of the French Revolution and its after effects so ~~much~~ inspired Muslim scholars of Egypt that 'Abd-al-Reḥmān al-Kwākibī devoted a full study to it in his book Un al-Qurā. During his nine years stay in Egypt Jamāl-al Dīn Afḡānī found a worthy disciple in Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh who accompanied him to England and

France and, on returning from there, ~~continued~~ continued his mission faithfully till his death in 1905.

In 1897, Rashīd Rida<sup>ف</sup>, with the active help of Shaykh<sup>ه</sup> Mohammad 'Abduh, founded 'Manār Movement' which concentrated its endeavours upon religious awakening. Among other disciples of Mohammad 'Abduh were Mohammad al-Mahadi (died 1923), Qasim Amin (died 1908) and Sa'id Zaghlul (died 1927).

Most of the Orientalists, in the name of research and literary scholarship would give vent to their vindictive attitude towards Islam in their books. They would attack Islam, its basic principles and the Muslims in such a way as to look like scholastic researches but, based on half truths, untruths and wrong conclusions as their research used to be, it was prone to criticism. The Muslim scholars of Egypt promptly screened their views and brought to the force the unworthiness of such biased conclusions. Earnest Renan alleged that Islam was basically against every intellectual progress and whatever was achieved during Muslim rule, was basically due to the scholarship of the Jews, Christians and non-Arabs. The only ~~coarse~~ exception being that of al-Kindi - Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afḡānī took a note of his writings and wrote a benefiting answer in journal de France. Earnest Renan, prejudicial as he was, had no option but to say that Jamāl al-Dīn was the only man capable of reading his motives clearly and his answer a silencing one. Another Orientalist, Hanote, tried in his writings to establish the superiority of Christianity over Islam. He was aptly replied by Shaykh<sup>ه</sup> Mohammad

---

'Abduh, Duke Darcair wrote a book on Egypt and the Egyptians in which he took every opportunity to attack Islam and Islamic belief. Qāsim Anīn wrote a book in French in which he very scholastically ~~was~~ rebuffed these views. It does not mean to suggest that religious scholarship of the Muslim Scholars of Egypt was of defensive type alone, but it concerned itself in the presentation of religion in its pure form so as to help the fellow Egyptians to get rid of the abuses which had multiplied due to their ignorance of real religion.

Meanwhile, on March 19, 1928, Idwār al-Muslimīn was formed under the leadership of Shaykh Hassam al-Banā - a revolutionary of great zeal and zest. This party was mainly interested in seeing religion as a dominating force in the Egyptian body politic and in seeing so it that government was formed and run on the revolutionary principles of Islam. They had deep rooted belief in the fact that Islam is relevant to the conditions of any time and answer to the problems posed by modern culture. They wanted to inculcate this spirit in the minds of the Egyptian Muslims. This party has been functioning as an active and organised Islamic force in Egypt and, as back as 1944, it had not less than half a million enrolled followers. This party and its followers have very often been subjected to repulsion ~~in the emergency~~ and revulsions by the government of the day, but after every such repulsion it has emerged more powerful. This party continues to be an assembly of revolutionary minded Islamists in Egypt.

---

1. Idwār al-Muslimīn: Hassan Fahmī: Qāsim Anīn: PP: 25-27 and Waqā' Sakā'īn: Qāsim Anīn: PP: 11-12.

As far as the socio-economic aspect, it had deep traces of Turkish culture in 19th century but the religious slogans of the ottomans rulers were more a tactics than a reality. The religious bias nurtured on faulty lines among copt and muslims <sup>-1-</sup> was responsible for creating hatred between them which reached its zenith in the murder of Būtrus Pāshā Gālī - the then prime minister of Egypt - in 1906. In the 20th century the meeting ground has mainly been provided by Nationalism though in the second half of the century the Islamists have also shared <sup>honour</sup> ~~in~~ this, ~~however~~, with the nationalists.

The gap between the rich and the poor; the exploiter and the worker already existed and ~~subsequent~~ subsequent events had more an effect of widening than bridging it. Hence a demand for classless society by the communists and a just distribution of wealth by the Islamists. Throughout <sup>the</sup> 19th century and up to the second half of the 20th century the upper clique in the government was <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ the hands of the Turkish officers or officers of the Turkish decent. Natives had very limited chances to ~~rise~~ rise to the top in government or semi government establishments. Government Firmans (decrees) made the high posts in the army exclusively reserved for the Turks or ~~only~~ of the Turkish decent. Feudalism had gripped the country which was given official patronage. Majority of the big land holders consisted of the Turks and only a minority consisted of the natives. Their tenants were seldom in a comfortable position. They had to toil hard to fill the ~~empty~~ of their land owners who left barely that much with them which was not sufficient to enable them to live from head to mouth. Trade and industry was dominated by the foreigners and natives were petty shop keepers or artisans

---

1. ~~Cachia: P. 15~~

1. Mohammad 'Alī Mūsā: Amīn - al-Rayḥānī: P. 10.



and workers in their industries. Their ~~low~~ living standard was by no means satisfactory. But from the second half of the 20th century things began to change rapidly and the Egyptians continued to strive hard to hold their lost ground.

The language of daily use continued to be colloquial and that of literature classical. ~~It~~ It had much of phraseology and idioms of the Turkish language, but with its stretched dialect and deep association with pure Arabic, proved to be a chief factor for Arab unity.

In family, man continued to be supreme whose orders inside the ~~family~~ family were but to be obeyed, and woman continued chiefly ~~and~~ concerned with domestic affairs and nursing of children. In some of the wealthier families women were westernised. But the majority of the population continued to stick to their oriental values and Islamic culture,

The opening of the Suez Canal in Khadive Isma'il's time proved to be a turning point in the history of the Modern Egypt. It facilitated the inflow of great European literary works and literary figures into Egypt and efflux of the Egyptians into Europe. This resulted in the direct contacts of the Egyptians and the Europeans of their first kind on a very large scale. The impact of the Western Culture on the Egyptian Culture began to be felt in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Those of the Egyptians scholars who had gone aboard on Educational Missions were very much influenced by the overall progress of the west and its culture fascinated them. On their return to Egypt, they very enthusiastically advocated the adoption of the Western Culture in toto. The society

---

got divided on the issue. Majority of the Egyptian population was inclined towards retaining its Egyptian oriental character which they held more dear to everything else. For the most part of the first ~~half~~ half of the twentieth century the Egyptian population remained divided on the issue and from the second half of the century they seem to have mutually agreed to retain the oriental character as the basis of their society and strengthen it by adopting ~~what~~ what was beneficial in the Western Culture.

The issue of reviving pharaonic culture to serve as the basis of the new Egyptian culture was a hot issue for discussion in the first quarter of the 20th century. It was thought that this was the only point on which all sects of the society will unite against their common enemy, the British. Tāhā-Hussayn was, for some time, most enthusiastic spokesman for the cause of pharaonism. Though this move enjoyed support of some able writers, yet it could not appeal common masses. In fact, it was a mental exercise of some overenthusiastic modernists, who were aptly answered by many scholars. Had this move succeeded it would have put the Egyptian society ~~in narrow~~ in narrow sectarian segments and would have dealt a harsh blow to its past history. But thanks to the good will which prevailed upon these writers and they turned to the Islamic history and wrote books with the Islamic themes. They ~~wrote~~ wrote books on the Islamic Culture and the Muslim heroes. Outstanding of these writers were Mohammad Hussayn Haykal, 'Abbās Maḥmūd 'Aqqād, Tāhā Hussayn, Aḥmad ~~Abd~~ Aḥmad and others.

---

1. Anwar-ul Jandī: An-naḥḥ al-ʿArabī: PP: 839.

2. Salāmāt Mūsā al Mufakir wa-al-Insān (Beirut 1965) PP: 151 By Mohammad al-Sharqāwī.

EGYPT — LITERARY AND INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES.

Perhaps, it will not be unfair to say that upto the beginning of the 19th century, literary climate of Egypt was not conducive to lead to any renaissance. In the beginning of the 16th century, when Egypt was brought under Ottoman rule, the signs of literary and intellectual stagnation had already begun to set manifest. till in the 18th century the Ulama of the highest seat of learning - Al-Azhar - confined their energies only in writing super glossaries on the glossaries already written. This exercise would continue till the original writing and almost seemed to vanish under the heavy pressure of these newer and newer glossaries. It seemed, as if, the avenues of original writing limited completely missed

-1-

their grip and hold. "Literary activity was limited to traditional religious poems, poems of artificial lyricism, riddles and puzzles exchanged by clever ~~versifiers~~ versifiers and recited in social parties, poems ~~recording~~ recording the appointment of a governor and dismissal of another, the departure and return of a pilgrim, the death of a great man, the erection of a palace, the celebration of a wedding, the fulfilment or depression of the Nile, the appearance of a saint, and some

-2-

natural or social incident." Although the desire for renaissance ~~was~~ the ~~movement~~ was very pronounced and, in fact, Wahabi, Samusiya and Mahdi (Sudani) movements were earnest attempts towards the goal, yet these currents of thought were too feeble to penetrate the length and breadth of the Arab world and particularly that of Egypt.

---

1. Shawqi Daif: Al-Arab al-Muassir Fi Misr: IP: 19-20

2. Mohamed Halefullah: Literary life in Modern Egypt in its Relation to the contemporary world: (in Journal of Modern World (1954) Vol: VII: no: 85.

An impetus of ample vigour was needed to give fillip to the long awaited and desired process of renaissance which had, in fact, become overdue. This was provided by the expedition of Napoleon in 1798. Though it cost Egypt its independence for many years to come, yet the work of one hundred and thirty scholars brought to Egypt by him, the establishment of al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi and that of a printing press partially compensated for it. First fruit of this literary encounter was the publication of nine volumes under the title 'Wasf Misr' during the period 1800-1825.

When the French vacated their grasp on Egypt in 1801, a wise, shrewd and benevolent man in the person of Muhammad Ali was elected to be the ruler of Egypt. He was very much impressed by the superiority of Western armies and was eager to emulate them. This is why he directed his attention towards raising and training an army on modern lines. For this, besides other things, he needed schools of military training, engineering, mathematics and physics. So he established them. Above all, he established 'School of languages' which was to prove of great help for literary renaissance in Egypt. He established as many as fifty primary schools on modern lines. He invited foreign teachers and professors of great repute to teach in these schools and sent many promising Egyptian students for higher education to foreign countries, especially to Italy and France and thus were forged the foreign links.

Although the establishment of these institutions was originally intended to produce military officers of high calibre and to give impetus to

1. Shamsi Daif: PP: 13.

2. Shamsi: PP: 7.

3. Shamsi Daif: PP: 22.

machinery of the country, yet their impact on the Egyptian literary renaissance cannot be ~~underestimated~~ <sup>underestimated</sup> for many reasons. The main factors responsible for this impact are as follows :-

- a) A good number of talented Egyptians were sent abroad on educational mission to achieve perfection in their particular fields of specialisation. They, on their return to their homeland, tried their best to help the nation to benefit from the ~~rich~~ experiences they had gained.
- b) Foreign scholars of great repute and teachers of wide experience came to Egypt to teach and, in ~~some~~ many cases, to establish private institutions. These two factors were responsible for creating a real link between the Egyptian and the Western culture and helping the Egyptians to benefit from the experience gained by the West in many fields of science and art.
- c) Last, but not the least mark in the Egyptian literary renaissance, is added by establishing 'School of Languages' under the able guidance of Rifā' al-Dīn at Tahfawī, ~~an extremely able, versatile and hardworking~~ translator and the foremost literary figure of the time.

The main reason why the attempts to create an Egyptian Imperialistic state were foiled by foreign colonialists and internal dissensions, Mohammad 'Alī ~~closed~~ realised that the schools established by him, did not serve the purpose they were intended to do. For this reason <sup>1</sup> he closed the doors of these schools when he succeeded his father. By now, however, the links between the Egyptian intellectual life and the Western intellectual life had become too strong to be broken. Therefore, Sa'id Pāshā reopened the schools which were <sup>2</sup> closed during the reign of Ismā'īl Pāshā.

1. Dr. Tharwat al-Dīn: Qāsim Amin: PP: 12-13.

2. Quchi: PP: 3.

3. Shawqī Daif PP: 14-15.

The opening of the Suez Canal in Khadive Isma'il's time was an important turning point in the political and literary history of Egypt. It facilitated the inflow of literary works and great ~~literary~~ literary firms into Egypt and attracted the Egyptian scholars to Europe. This lifted many veils from European Culture and literature and the Egyptians benefited from them. Khadive Isma'il was eager that some sort of institution on democratic lines in his country be built. Therefore, he framed a Chamber of Deputies. The opportunity, thus, provided to them had a bewildering effect on the Egyptians. They generated in them a sense of National Awakening which, in it self, led to the production of ~~many~~ many literary works.

In 1860, there was a fearful outbreak of violence between Druses and Maronites in Syria; many Christians were massacred and many others fled to Egypt. A good number of them, who took ~~refuge~~ refuge in Egypt ~~and~~ were Scholars of great repute and contributed towards the overall renaissance of Egypt.

Third important factor was added to the modern literary history of Egypt. A great controversy resulting in hot exchange of arguments and counter arguments whether Egypt should be Westernised in toto or it should maintain its oriental character arose at this time. The great debate revolved round two ~~particular~~ points :-

- 1/a) Whether the Egyptians should revive their ~~own~~ heritage and modernise it or.
- 1/b) Whether they should switch over to Western Culture so as to ~~strengthen~~ that it strengthens their personality and corresponds with their character;

---

1. Ibid: PP: 16 (Dr. Shawqi Zuhayr)

2. Ibid: PP: 15

3. Cachia: PP: 10.

2/a) Whether the Egyptians should revive their culture on the basis of ancient civilization or

-1-

2/b) Synthesise Islamic belief, Arab Nationality and Oriental heritage.

Reforms in the working of the system and widening the facilities of teaching in al-Azhar; establishing of net work of higher institutions including the University of Cairo, and the University of Alexandria; free passage of Western ~~the~~ thought into Egypt and state patronage to literary endeavours, all proved to be hall marks in the Egyptians literary renaissance. These currents and counter currents ~~has~~ shaped Arabic literature of Egypt on scientific basis ~~and~~ and the effect was reflected in prose, poetry, Journalism and Education. We shall discuss each of them briefly :-

#### PROSE LITERATURE.

The advent of the 19th century saw the doors of most of the schools opened by Ayyubites and Mamluks closed. This forced the Egyptians to live in their present without knowing any thing of their past and planning anything<sup>n</sup> for their future. The intellectual pursuits of Abbasside and even those of the Ayyubite and the Mamluks, writers were unknown to the majority of them. The Ulamā of al-Azhar would write an explanation of some text. This explanation, in most of the cases, would be something more or less like the text ~~it~~ itself and would not add anything to it. It would be named Sharh. Then another writer would write an explanation of this Sharh and would name it 'Hashiyah'. Then the third or fourth writer would consider this 'Hashiyah' as insufficient and would write a super glossary on it which he would name 'Taqrir'. This would be the apex of

---

1, Anwar al-Jundi: al-Nathar al-'Arabi Fi Mi'ata 'Asam: PP: 839

the literary and the intellectual pursuits of the Egyptians which had virtually  
 -1-  
 caused literary ~~stagnation~~ stagnation in Egypt.

As already mentioned, Napoleon's expedition provided an impetus of ample  
 vigour much needed to give fillip to the literary renaissance of Egypt. When  
 Mohammed 'Alī decided to send the Egyptian scholars on the Educational missions  
 to Europe to achieve professiency in the particular fields of their interest,  
 there was a direct encounter between the Western and the Egyptian values. These  
 scholars were much influenced by the overall progress of the European culture  
 and, on their return to Egypt, they forcefully pleaded for its adoption in toto  
 by the Egyptians. As a reaction to this, the 'Protectionists' came into existence. They pleaded for preservation of the original Islamic  
 Islamic character of the Egyptian literature. Modernists and Protectionists entered  
 into unending discussions with each other which, besides other things, proved  
 beneficial to the development of the Arabic prose. Hence the history of the  
 Arabic literature in the 19th and 20th centuries is a history of ceaseless  
 struggle between 'Modernists' and 'Protectionists'. prose had its own share  
 -2-  
 of this struggle.

It can safely be said that ~~Rafī~~ Rifā'at at Taḥṣawī was the first to  
 adopt modernistic trends both in the style and, of his writings <sup>contents</sup> content. He  
 -3-  
 successfully combined the Arabic conditions and the European Culture. With  
 unique mastery he saved his works - most of them translations - from becoming  
 riddles and puzzles and jugglery of word and rhyme. His book Al-Ḥa'ānī is the

1. Shawqi Daif: PP: 20

2. Anwar al-Jundi-al Ḥaḥāfizah wa-ḥajjidd fi al-Naṭar al-'Arabī al-ḥadīqah  
 Mi'ata 'Alī: PP: 2-3.

3. Trends and Trends in Arabic poetry: PP: 17.



-1-

2

-3-

一五

1. Anwār al-Jundi: al-Muḥāfiẓa: PP: 4.
2. Gachia: PP: 9.
3. Shawqi Daif: PP: 23.
4. Gachia: PP: 10.
5. Anwār al-Jundi: al-Muḥāfiẓa: PP: 4-5.

Fi Sabīl al-Faj and Majdūlīn. These books were the literary nourishment for many <sup>-1-</sup>educated youths. The conventional systems were faithfully followed by Mohammed al-Muwayliḥī in his book *Uddīth 'Isā Bin Hishām*; Hafiz ~~Ibrahim~~ Ibrahim in *Layālī* ~~Satīlī~~ Satīlī; and Ahmad al-Shawqī in *Aswāq al-Dhahab*. Hāfiz 'Awad, Antūn Jarrī and Luṭfī-Sayyid adopted modern style of writing. Qasim 'Ain's writing successfully compounded conventional and modern style to form a new style of his own. This is clearly visible in his book *Tahrīr al-Mara'at*.

Darūl-ulum al-Azhar first joined this wave of renaissance when Shaykh al-Husaynī and Shaykh al-Mahdī advocated need for wider literary and intellectual horizons for al-Azhar. They influenced al-Zaynāt, Hāshim Hūsāwī, <sup>-2-</sup>Zakī Mubārak, Mustafā 'Abd al-Rāziq and 'Abd al-Laziz al-Duhūrī. Shaykh Mohammed 'Alī's reformative drive induced many scholars to search for different avenues of creative and original writing. To serve as a guide there six scholars undertook the gigantic task of translating some master pieces of other languages into Arabic. Sulaymān al-Bustānī translated 'Eliot' into Arabic. This was supplemented by the translations of Mohammad Jubā' 'Uthmān (Mueller); Hajjib 'Alī (Shakespeare), Zaynāt (Rufā'īl); and a host of translations by al-Mazīnī, al-Aqqād, 'Abbad Hāfiz, Luṭfī Jum'ah and Fathī Zaghlūl. <sup>-3-</sup> ~~From~~ This spell of literary renaissance lasted upto the end of World I 1918.

The publication of ~~the~~ Commission report and subsequent street fightings in 1921 changed the whole course of Egyptian thought and action and laid down right path for it. Britain had soon well assessed the situation and helped the move to revive national bitterness among the Egyptians and tried to ~~delink~~ delink them ~~from~~ from the sole inspiring factor -

1. Mohammad Khalīfullo: P: 94.

2. Anwar al-Jundi: *al-Ma'āfiza*: PP: 6-8.

3. Ibid: 8.



series *Madjar al-Islām*, *Duḥā al-Islām*, *Zahr al-Islām* and *Yum al-Islām*.

Another noteworthy addition in the intellectual history of Islam. He ~~has~~ has adopted modern methods of historiography in describing Arab Muslim new life in these books.

Among modern writers a general feeling nurtured itself that the Egyptians could not live in the present age by mentally living in the past; no facts could be related to a faulty language; and no knowledge could be put in a long ignorance. This is why the new generation of scholars passed their past, living in the present. <sup>-2-</sup> and, as such, many horizons of literary activity were opened up. The style of creative writing beginning with *al-Furqān* took different patterns with different authors. "With *Tāj al-Ḥusayn* pure Arabic diction and skill in the handling of phrase; with *Aḥmad Ḥassain al-Zayyāt* the *Jāhizite* style and its old Arabic eloquence; with *al-Muqadd* philosophical and psychological expression. In the writings of *Ḥusayn* the biography style has been adopted; while in the stories and novel of *Taymūr* that of depicting scenes of life. *al-Muḥḥiḥ*, *Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm* and *Aḥmad Amīn* <sup>-3-</sup> were known for their lucid and simple style."

In the second half of the 19th century, <sup>1</sup> *Shaykh Hassan al-Marsafī* ~~Marsafī~~ wrote *al-Naḥḥ al-Adab al-ʿArabīyah*. The book is more concerned with substance than form. He was followed by *Jurjī Zaydān* in his book *Tārīkh Adab al-ʿArabīyah* (4 Volumes) and to some extent and by *Aḥmad Hassan al-Zayyāt* in his book *Tārīkh Adab al-ʿArabīyah*. In 1914, *Ḥusayn*.

1. *Shaykh Hassan al-Marsafī*: PP: 94.

2. *al-Muqadd*: *Muḥammad ʿAbdūh*: PP: 17.

3. *Muḥammad ʿAbdūh*: PP: 93-94.

He wrote Diqr al-ʿAlī in which he gave a general critique of old Arabic literature.

ʿAlī al-ʿAqqād, ʿAlī al-Ḥayr, Shaykh Lutf al-Ḥazīnī, ʿUbayr Qalmāwī, Wādā al-Ḥazīnī, Mōhammad Mandūr and Zakī al-Ḥudayd were well acquainted with the western methods of criticism which they applied extensively to ~~modern~~ Arabic literature and criticism. They compared the works of writers of old and new, gave rise to the discussion of the old and the new and the characteristics of Arabic modern literary appreciation.

The Drama writing began only after November 29, 1969 when Royal Opera House was inaugurated, but most of them were translations, mostly from the Italian and the French dramas. Al Maṭn al-ʿArabi by ʿAbdullāh Ḥazīnī was the first <sup>drama</sup> original written in the reign of ʿIsfīq I. In ʿAlī's adaptation, al-Shaykh Maṭlūf in Colloquial Arabic, was the best original drama of the 19th century and till early 20th century most of the dramas were based ~~on~~ on translations. Mōhammad Lutfī & Jumʿah and ʿAlī were most successful original play writers. Opinion on adoption of colloquial or classical language in drama was divided among play writers. For some plays colloquial language was used and for serious dramas it remained divided with a leaning towards colloquial.

ʿAlī al-Ḥayr (1829-1898) was first to provide a translated novel under the title ʿAl-ʿArī wa-al-Ḥimāt fī Ḥadīth Qubīl wa-al-Ḥimāt. This followed a host of translated novels in 20th century by Ḥāfiẓ Abrahīm, 1.3 ch. 1: 6.

( 48 )

Alim Hassan Zayyat, Jurji Zaidan and Haykal Tahā's Shajrat al-Būs and al-Mu'azzabūn fil al-Arad, Al-Aqqād's Sirat, Haykal's Zainab and Tawfiq al-Hakim's Yawmiyat Nā'ib fī al-Aryāf, Ahl al-Kahaf and Usfur min-al-Sharaq are unique, original and splendid master pieces ~~in the field of prose literature~~ of modern Arabic Novel.

This brief account of the overall progress in the field of prose literature in the 19th and 20th centuries led a researcher to contend that Arabic prose literature ~~in his land~~ has best share of the overall renaissance of literature in Egypt. Both prose literature and Renaissance have benefited from each other to the extent that, now, it is ~~not~~ not only the Egyptians who translate master pieces of Italian, French, English, Russian, Chinese and ~~Russian~~ Persian ~~into~~ languages, but people of the globe also translate master pieces of Arabic prose, particularly those written by the Egyptians into their languages. This is really a success worthy of the literary endeavours of the Egyptian scholars and writers.

#### P O E T R Y

As already mentioned, the lot of the Arabic poetry in Egypt was in no way better than that of the Arabic prose at the ~~on~~set of the 19th century. The poets contented themselves with writing panegyrics in the conventional manner with no scope for development in style and contents. The best poetry was considered to be the one in which rhyme and metre was ~~maintained~~ <sup>maintained</sup> with.

-1-

stress on eloquence and fluency of Speech.

Syed Ismā'īl al-Khashab al-Misrī (d 1814); Shaykh Mohammad al-Mahdī (b 1737); Syed 'Umar al-Kadīf Yafā'ī (d 1818); Syed 'Alī al-Darwaish; Ibrāhīm Bik 'Alī al-Marzūq (d 1866)

1. Shawqī Daif: P: 21.

Abū-al-Nasr al-Manfalūtī (d 1881); al-Sūfī al-Hafīf (d 1880); Abū al-ʿAlī al-Fikrī (d 1889); al-ʿAlī al-Laythī (d 1900); and al-ʿAlī al-Saymūriyah (d 1902) are but a few of the many who faithfully follow

~~conversion~~ convertical war of position in the, style, diction and contents.

Nothing new is discerned in their poetry and, as such, their poetry continues to be a collection of elegies, elegiacs, and so forth. The only deviation is found in the poetry of Shaykh Muhammad Shahab al-Din (b 1300), whose poetry is an imitation of the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic period.

is the founder of poetic revival in Egypt who linked, with a considerable amount of success, modern trends with immortal classical poetry. His endeavours were complemented by Hafnī Nāsik (d 1919); Isma'īl Sabīh (d 1922); Amīn Shawqī (d 1932); Ḥusayn Muḥammad Farīdī (d 1932); Ḥusayn Ḥusayn (d 1970); Al-Ṭayyib, Abu Shādī and Abdul Raḥmān Sidqī, in whom the level of poetic talent is extra-ordinarily high and who created many hall marks in the poetic history of Egypt.

In modern times, a host of the problems have been solved and the country has emerged as the most civilized in the world. Nationalism got first and foremost place in the poetry of Yūsuf Ibrāhīm and Aḥmad Shawqī. Besides a few other poets contributed their share and were responsible for popular revolt of 1919 and successive national awakening. When Lord Cromer left Egypt, a stinging satire was composed against him by Aḥmad Shawqī beginning with

أنت فرعون يستوسن نبلا  
قده والإله وصنعه ونبلا

أَيَا مَلِكُ أُمِّ مَحْمُودِ اسْمَا عَلِيًّا  
قَالُوا جَلَسَتْ لَنَا الرِّفَاقَةُ وَالْغَنَى

Are you a descendant of Isma'il or are you a pharaoh governing Nilo?

They say, you brought for us welfare and prosperity. (In saying so) They have been taught to say, "His creation is the life". "His creation is the life".

[illegible]

aptly depicted the picture of the Egyptian under the British Rule. :- says :-

تمن علينا اليوم أن أخصب الثرى . وأن أصبح المصري حراً منعباً  
إذا أخصب الأرض واجرب أهلها . فلا أطلعت ولا جادها (سما)

(Nowadays we are obliged to see land is fertile and the Egyptian has become free and ~~the Egyptian may grow~~ prosperous. When owners look of their land while their land is fertile then it is prayed that no plant may grow on it and it may not give so flower for the owner.)

Commenting upon the economic ~~policy~~ policy of Britain towards Egypt and the crippled Egyptian economy, Ahmed Shawqi says :-

عضوا على أروالنا بالتواجد - أكلت خزان مصر سودان

(They have chewed our wealth with their Molars and eaten Egyptian and Sudanese treasures.)

On the success of Khalid in the elections, he ~~praise~~ praised Safad Aglul in these words :-

الله أكبركم في الفتح من محب - يا خالد الترك جدد خالد العرب

(God has surprisingly put you on top in this victory. O Turkish Khalid, revive (the spirit of) Arab Khalid.)

Glorifying his native land and expressing his deep sentimental attachment to it he says :-

وطنى ولو شغلت بالخلد عنه - نازعتنى نفسي بالخلد عنه -

(My native land ! If I am restrained from it in paradise , my soul will be attracted to it instead of Paradise.)

The problem of language drew much of the attention of poets, particularly that of Muhsin Kamil who, tirelessly, advocated the use of language for higher goals and ideals and expressed his deep displeasure on its being employed to



translate trivial ideas of love into the Addressing Arabic language, he says :

قد أذلواك بين أنسٍ وكأس - وغرامٍ بطيبةٍ أو غزال  
ولسيبٍ ودرجةٍ وهجاء - ورثاءٍ وفتنةٍ وضلال

(They have enlowed you with humiliation to describe love, tumbler,

excessive love for a girl, and in erotic introduction of Qasidah ,

~~Exaggerating the Arabian~~, peregrine, satire, all, intrigue and illusion.)

Impe. onding the Arabic language :-

أنا البحر في احشائه الذرّامن - فصل سألوا الخوارج عن صدقاتي ؟

(I am the ocean in its depths; have they questioned

the Kharijites about my taxes?)

Arabic poetry is famous for having long poems full of the description

of nature with its treasures. But now we find the poet in Arabic poetry ex-

emplified in the poem we see in modern poems. In Diwān of Mahūd Ḥassar

entitled 'Aḡma-al-Mafar and in Ahmad Shawqī's Diwān al-Shawqīyat, we

have marvellous examples of his poetry in abundance. The poem composed

by Ahmad Shawqī in praise of the river Nile, <sup>is a splendid</sup> piece of the description of nature.

It starts with :-

من أيّ عهدٍ في القرى تسدفق - وبأيّ كلفٍ في المدن تغرق ؟

From how long have you been flowing through the villages and cities

constantly and abundantly flowing through the cities?

Describing the unfaded glory of Pyramids he says :-

وكأنما بين البلى وقبورهم - محذراتٌ لاساسٍ وموتى

As though between decay and their (Pyramids)

(Pyramids) to avoid touching each other.

متكّن كالطود أصله في الثرى - والفرع في حرم السماء مقلّب

Like a rock it stands firm as the mountains in the earth, the branches in the

the sacredness of the sky.

freedom of press, of social reform, of woman, condition of the people, and political conditions in Arabic poetry had drawn it closer to the common masses.

With the passage of the time, the poets were increasingly using their art as an instrument to national awakening. As a part of it, the religious sentiments of the Egyptians were aroused with its help. Ahmad Shawqi in his Hamziyah al-Nabawiyah; poem on the basic features of an Islamic state. He says :-

داء الجأمة من أرسطاليس لم - يوصف له حتى أتيت دواء -  
 فرسمت بعدك للعباد حكومة - لا سوقة فيها ولا أمراء -  
 الله فوق الخلق فيها وحده - والناس تحت لوائها أكفاد -  
 والدين يسر والخلافة بيعة - والأمر شورى والحقوق قضاء -

(There was no remedy prescribed to the mortal malady of groupism started by Aristotle till you (the Prophet) came. You devised such a form of government for the people in which there is no conception of an ordinary man or of a noble. In it God alone is superior to all and people are all equal under its banner. Religion is simple, government by knowledge, matters decided by mutual deliberation and acknowledged right.)

He prays for his nation and says :-

ربنا ثبت على الحق قلوبنا - وامنح عنا الأسواء والخطوب  
 ربنا اللهم جنبنا الخطوب - وأهدنا الحكمة في كل الغلال

Our Lord: Stick our hearts on the truth and protect us from every misery and mishap. Our Lord: Deliver us from misadventure and guide us by your wisdom in every act.

He was once in the al-Hamra Palace in Spain. He recollected the past glory of the Muslims. He tried to arouse the religious sentiments of his co-religionists by giving a glimpse of the use of the al-Hamra. He says :-

مشت الحاديات في عزف المرابي - فشئى النعمى في دار عرس -  
 هتكت عزة الحجاب وفضت - سدة الباب من سمير وأنس -

The fateful event crossed the ~~the~~ Al-Harā' rooms ~~in~~ in the same ~~way~~ way as an  
announcer of death crosses the room of a bridegroom. They utilised the honour  
of its veil and made its doors open from the storm-bellows and the rain.

It is a fact that religious enthusiasts with more prominence in the  
poetry of Tāhī Tūfī than in Maṣnawī's. According to Tāhī this poem, Maṣnawī's 1. of  
composed with religious themes and is old, while Maṣnawī's 1. of  
-1-  
is of a ~~young~~ young age. In a concluding poem composed by Tāhī after on Harā'

al-Tribulus he says :-

طبع ألقى عن الغرب اللثاما - فاستغنى ربيها الشرق وافذر أن تشارفا  
وأحلى ربيها الشمس إلى كل - فن يسكن في الشرق السلام -  
وأشعدي يوم التهادي أمنا - في سبيل الحق ممتنا كراما -

that should be translated as follows: O Sun, you have been and  
beware of sleep. And O Sun, we convey my Salam to every one who live in the  
East. And, on the Day of Resurrection, the time before God to reward down our  
lives lives with grace in the cause of the Truth.

He takes every opportunity to glorify Islam and its eternal values. In  
his elegy on Shaykh Monammad 'Abduh, he says :-

سلام على الإسلام بعد محمد - سلام على أيامه والنضرات -  
على الدين والدنيا على العلم والحج - على البر والتقوى على الحسانات -

Peace be on Islam after Muhammad. Peace be on his times full of prosperity,  
on Religion and the World, on his courage and sagacity, on virtue and piety and on  
benefactions.

1. Tāhī : Shāwqi: lāhā Ḥusayn: FF: 220. Maṣnawī 1-Tāhī : Maṣnawī : 1955.

One more noteworthy feature of Arabic poetry of Modern Egypt has been the influence of western drama, which got expert handling at the hands of **Amīr-al-Shū'arā'**, **Aḥmad Shāwī**. He wrote first plays on the pattern of western plays with scenes based them on the events in the Egyptian and Arab history. Among them are **Masr'**, **Kalobatra**, **Jamīa**, **Ḥalī Bay al-Kabīr**, **Majmū' Lailī**. His endeavour was succeeded and supplemented by **Azīz Abāzā** who borrowed his subject matter from ~~an~~ Arabic mythology (**Qasṣ al-Ḥayāt**) and Egyptian and Muslim history (**Al-Aḥsāt**, **Shayṣ al-Dur**) as well as the history of Arab Spain (**Abd-al-Reḥmān al-Nāsir**).

**Al-Zajal** and **Mawal** have extensively been used to depict various aspects of public feeling. The modern Arabic poetry remain in vogue, particularly in the time of National Crisis. **Lawzī Nazīm**, **Shafīq-al-Misrī** and **Bayṣan al-Tunisi** have demonstrated outstanding talent in its composition.

"The spirit of Ancient Arabic poetry is represented in poet **'Abd-al-Muttalī** pure classicism in **al-Jarī**; while the modernism advocated by **Mutṭarān** which in effect called for less ceremonial poetry has found strong response from **'Al-'Aqqād** and **Abū Shādī**." <sup>-1-</sup> **Khalīl Mutṭarān** expressed desire to follow the ancient in maintaining foundations of the language, in refraining from taking liberties with it and in seeking inspiration from his true nature and to widen the range of expression in accordance with the demand of the time. To prove that Arabic language is pregnant with vast meaning and able to deliver any meaning intended to be delivered, he wished to introduce all sorts of innovations. Within these limits, high standards and great successes were achieved which were not merely imitative. Poetry found patrons in common & educated men whom it represented faithfully. Poets ~~now~~ modelled its original lines and circulated in the

1. **Mohammad Khalafullah**: PP: 91-92.

people the idea that Arabic language is the mother of all languages provided  
-1-  
it is safeguarded and given the attention which it deserves.

To complete the brief study of this part of the chapter and to have an insight in the nature of modernism which the Arabic poetry attained during this period; it seems proper to quote what Abū Ḥilāl Muṭrān ~~adv~~ advocates in the introduction to the first volume of his collection of poems, published in 1908. He says, "This is a poetry whose writer is not its slave, nor do the requirements of meter the rhyming word fall on him to suit his intent. In it the right meaning is expressed with the eloquent word. Its author does not look for the beauty of the simple verse, if it ignores its neighbour and quarrels with its brother, or if it autogonizes the beginning, renounces the close and contradicts the conclusion. He rather looks for the beauty of the verse in itself as well as in its position, and the totality of the poems in its ~~word~~ construction and arrangement, harmony and co-ordination of content. All of it is a result of imagination, originality of subject, ~~conforming~~ <sup>conforming</sup> conformity with reality, reflection of lively feeling and ~~expression~~ <sup>firmness</sup> of clarity of description and its fulfilment to a degree .....

However, I declare without fear that the poetry along this method - and I do not mean many deficient poems - is the poetry of the future, because it is that of  
-2-  
life, reality and imagination all together .....

—————  
T U T A L I S  
—————

Upto the advent of the 19th century, journalism was ~~completely~~ unknown to Egypt. When, in 1828, Mohammad 'Alī established Būlāqiyah Press, Journalism in Egypt was made possible and it was in this very year that the first official Journal of Egypt in Arabic was published under the title of 'Al-Waqāyā al-Misriyya'.

1. Cachia: PP: 31.

2. Translation by Mohammad 'Alī 1911.

which was upto that date published in French under the title of 'Cultive Journal'. In 1866, a Muslim Egyptian paper 'Wāḥī al-Nīl' was published. It was edited by 'Abdullah Abu al-Saud on non governmental level. ~~Under the~~ The first genuinely free efforts in this direction were those of Jamāl al-Dīn Afḡānī, Mohamūd al-Badī and others, who wanted religious reforms to be made. To serve as a means to this end, this group started 'al-Aḥqāf' and 'al-Iqān' and the latter, al-Naqāsh and later, Yaḡḡib Sanwā published a satirical journal, 'al-Nazā'irah' which was soon banned.

The occupation of Egypt by the British discouraged free press and, as a result, nearly all journals and papers had to close their offices. Then, as a result of gaining momentum by Nationalist Movement & Journalism was revived and many journals were started. Shaykh 'Alī 'Uways's ~~Abdullah~~ al-Muḥāfiḍ; Abdullah Nadīm's paper, al-Ustāḍh and Muḥammad Khayr's al-Liḡā were genuine efforts to revive journalism thriving on sound basis of fulfilling its duty to the nation and the Nationalist Movement. Al-Jarīdah was mostly used by Hizb al-Ummah to champion its cause. But these papers were off and on subjected to strict public-action laws. After the military revolution of Egypt in 1954, journalism had unprecedented growth. Since then it has touched higher limits and continues to flourish till this day. At the same time it remains a fact that during the period it never enjoyed complete freedom, it has ~~remained~~ remained mostly under government control.

Side by side, with these papers, thrived a more to start weekly, fortnight and monthly journals. The most important of them being al-Muqtāf, al-Hilāl, al-Siyāsah al-Ushū'iyah, al-Balagh, al-Katib al-Misri, al-Hisalah and al-Thaqafah.

---

1. Ḥaḡḡī Daif: PP: 33-35.

This wide range of papers and journals attracted to its fold scholars from nearly all walks of life and dealt with problems relating to day to day life in social, political, economic, religious, educational, cultural and national fields. Nearly all journals and most of the papers had pages reserved for literature and literary endeavours. In fact many journals were ~~solely~~ solely dedicated to literature or religion.

The impact of journalism on literature was very wide in its nature and very vastly felt in its magnitude. Most of the writings on politics, sociology, economics, literature, religion, history, culture, modernism, preservation etc. were made possible by these journals. The journals and papers belonging to a particular party and the articles appearing in them on literature by scholars of that school of thought generated hot literary discussions and it is because of them that very thoughtful provoking articles by scholars belonging to the other schools of thought have been written on such vast subjects as Islam, Jahiliya poetry and principles of Administration. The modern style of writing found enthusiastic supporters in journalists, who pleaded their case in permanent 'al-Ahrām' column 'al-Baḥṭh 'an Asās al-Nahḍah' (Discussions on the basis of Renaissance). The ~~xxx~~ arguments thus put forward were very promptly screened and answered to by Protectionists. Journals employed a language which was neither 'ornamental' nor 'telegraphic' but one which appealed to an average educated person more than to a scholar or to a common man in street. Literary criticism adopted menacing proportions at times, but was more or less, within the bounds so much so that journals could afford to ~~publish~~ publish it. Journals like 'al-Jawā'ib al-Misriyah', 'Anisat-Jalīs' and 'al-Bayān' of Ibrāhīm al-ʿAzīzī;

---

'Istabāh al-Sharq' of 'Abd al-Muwayliḥ; al-Mujall'ah-al-Misriyah' of Ḥalil Muṭrān and 'Uṣūl al-Aḳār' of Mohammad Muwayliḥ and 'Mohammad 'Uṭayn were mainly responsible for publishing the writings of many scholars and introducing them to the public. Biographical sketches, Islamic Culture, countering baseless ideas of the orientalist regarding Islam, Muslims and the Arabs and translation of the Qur'ān was also undertaken by ḥ journalists. As such, ~~the~~ journalism in Egypt, had ḥ great impact on various branches of Arabic literature and was of immense value for its renaissance on healthy lines. It has, in fact, given impetus to vast literary movement in Egypt.

### E D U C A T I O N

The educational system as prevalent in Egypt upto the advent of ~~the~~ the 19th century, was to send a child to 'Kuttab' where he would be called upon to learn basic fundamentals of reading and writing. Side by side he would be asked to memorise the Holy Qur'ān. Then he would get preliminary guidance in jurisprudence, logic, mathematics etc. - All from 'Shaykh' of a village 'Kuttab'. Later, selected and capacious few would go to al-Azhar - the highest seat of learning in those days - to attain higher proficiency in Muslim sciences, such as the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, jurisprudence, logic and mathematics. This was the apex of learning.

After the French vacated their aggression of Egypt, Mohammad 'Alī established some schools to train and educate army officers. Compelled by the situation, he ḥ had to invite teachers and professors from foreign countries to teach ḥ in these schools and had to send capacious, talented and spirited

---

1. Anwār al-Jundī: al-Nathar al-'Arabī: PP: 865-869.



young Egyptian students to foreign countries, especially to Italy and France for higher studies. But, ~~it~~ soon imperialistic designs of Mohamud Ali were foiled and he could ~~not~~ visualise very vividly that the schools he had established proved to be of no avail to him. This prompted his ~~son~~ son, Abbas ~~to~~ to close the doors of these schools and forced the Egyptians to return to where from they had taken first step towards this direction. But, thanks are due to the good ~~will~~ spirit of Sa'id Pasha, who re-opened the schools. The education which was upto ~~that~~ that intended to 'manufacture' army officers of high calibre and to give impetus to the war machinery of the country was now clearly designed to serve no other purpose than that of education itself. This was really a bold ~~and~~ step

-1-

taken in the right direction. ~~Notwithstanding~~ Notwithstanding the fact that economic and political policies of Sa'id Pasha were ruinous for the future of the country the service he rendered to Egypt by his educational policy cannot be ignored by any just Educational Historian of Egypt. The leading lights in education were 'Ali ~~Q~~ Pasha Mubarak (1823-1893) and 'Abdullah Pasha Fikri (1834-1901). The ~~government~~ government of November 7, 1867, was the first genuine attempt to rule education primarily for the good of the pupil and to make the government to bear, at least, some expense of his education ~~and~~. In 1871, to ~~establish~~ schools and institutions of higher learning, engineering, surveying and law were established. In 1872, teachers of Dar al-<sup>U</sup>lūm, Azhar were ~~asked~~ asked to acquaint them-selves with pedagogical principles.

-2-

In 1901, the government issued a state policy regarding Universal Education of all children in Egypt. It described the aim of this policy in these words :-

'to spread as widely as possible, amongst the male and female population, a

1. Shawqi Daif: PP: 14-15.

2. Cachie: PP: 17.

simple form of education consisting of the elementary knowledge of Arabic and Mathematics. In the second place to form a highly educated class suitable for the requirements of the government service." Before 1905, when Sa'īd Zaghlūl took as Education Minister, the overall position of enrolment in ~~the~~ Kuttābs, primary schools and secondary schools was fifteen thousand and nine hundred students and in higher technical institutions one thousand three hundred and nine students.

Recognising the fact that tradition, antique and out dated methods of learning, transfer of learning and training were ~~thick~~ employed at al-Azhar for most part of the 19th century. But, the fact that it continued to keep the lamp of learning burning and shedding light when there was no other source in those darknesses of ignorance is emphatic enough to remind the researcher of the role it played in overall development of the Egyptian literature and religious science with particular reference to service to the cause of Education. It does not mean that there were no reformative moves in al-Azhar at that time. Shaykh al-Marsafī and Shaykh al-Mahdī had very early raised their voice against this ~~Therom~~ and suggested need for wider literary and scientific horizons for the institution. This move gained momentum with the visit of Jamāl-al Din Afghānī in 1871 and his mission was faithfully carried on by his brilliant pupil ~~the~~ 'Abduh upto his death in 1905. He, in the capacity of Rector of al-Azhar, introduced vast reformative measures.

In 1908, the first Egyptian university was established in Cairo where lectures on history, literature and philosophy ~~and~~ were delivered by <sup>the</sup> Egyptian



CHAPTER TWO

Shāh Ismāʿīl - His Life and Works.

CHAPTER SECOND - PART ITĀHĀ HUSSAYN - LIFE AND WORKSPart IL I F E

Tāhā Hussayn was born on November 14, 1889 in village 'Kailū' which is at two kilo metre's distance from town 'Māgagah' in upper Egypt. The village is situated on the left bank of the Nile. His father, Hussayn 'Alī was an employee in a sugar factory run by Farmer's co-operative society. Tāhā Hussayn was the seventh of his father's thirteen children and the fifth of his mother's eleven. As rich, the financial condition of his father was modest, but not so poor as to restrain him from keeping a ~~servant~~ servant.

The teacherous misery of blindness at the tender age of three - caused probably by trachoma - was shown no concern by his parents in the beginning. Only a village barber was brought into prescribe country made ointment which had a further blinding effects on his eyes. This infirmity was partially compensated by nature by bestowing on Tāhā Hussayn the extraordinary power of memory. This, together with his sharp intellect and wit, shaped his future career.

As custom demanded, young Tāhā was sent to a 'Kuttāb' to memorise the Qurān by heart and to have preliminary knowledge of the prevalent branches of Muslim sciences. The sciences were basically meant to help the child in making the knowledge of language polished, correct his dialect and accent and to gain basic knowledge of jurisprudence. He was very active in memorising the Qurān in its entirety at the tender age of nine, in 1898. But, later negligence

1. 'Abdūl Rehman Badwī: Tāhā Hussayn Fī 'Īdī - 'Īlādihī Sab'īn: PP: Preface

2. Dr. Shawqī Dāfī: Al-Adab-al-'Arabī al-Hu'āsir Fī Misr: PP: 277

3. 'Abdūl Rehman Badwī: PP: Preface 4. Tāhā Hussayn: Al-Ayyām: Part I: PP: 17

5. Tāhā Hussayn Al-Ayyām: Part I PP: 83-86

6. Ibid PP: 120

7. Ibid: PP: 23

proved humiliating for him, when he was called upon by his father to recite 'Sūrah Sabā', which he could not. Failing to recite either 'Sūrah Fātiḥah' or 'Sūrah Vāqīn', his forehead became moist with ~~sweat~~ sweat and he attempted suicide, but <sup>-1-</sup> was ~~saved~~ saved by his mother, though he sustained grave injury.

It was a long cherished ambition of Tāhā's father to live to see Tāhā's brother a Qāḍī and Tāhā Hussayn a teacher at ~~al-Azhar~~ al-Azhar, where he would, seated against one of its pillars, be delivering lessons to a large number of students. <sup>-2-</sup> To accomplish this end, he requested an Azharite and Inspector of Roads posted in the village, to guide young Tāhā so that he develops in himself requisite qualification for admission to al-Azhar. <sup>-3-</sup> When Tāhā Hussayn's father was convinced of the ability of his blind son to get admission at al-Azhar, he decided in 1902, to send him to al-Azhar with his Azharite brother, who was to ~~leave~~ leave for Cairo after enjoying summer vacations at home. At al-Azhar, he appeared in the admission test and was enrolled as a regular student. He continued, as such, for three years during which he attended primary lessons. The two lectures delivered by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh at al-Azhar in the winter of 1905, <sup>-4-</sup> were attended by Tāhā Hussayn. During ~~the~~ 1905, to 1907 he attended secondary lessons in 'Fiqh' and 'Naḥw'. In 1907, he attended lessons with higher class students. He attended the lectures of Shaykh Muḥammad Baḥrī, or 'Hanafī Fiqh'; of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn al 'Adawī on 'Mantiq'; of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Marāḡī on 'Tawḥīd' (Marāḡī taught his students the book 'al-Iḥdāsh'); of Shaykh Muḥammad Rāḍī on 'Fiqh' (after delivering lessons at al-Azhar, <sup>-5-</sup> Rāḍī would deliver lectures at his home for students. He would teach 'Muslim al-Iḥabūt' in 'Usūl-al-Fiqh' and 'Qalīl al-Ḥisn' in 'Mantiq'); of Shaykh

1. <sup>-1-</sup> Tāhā Hussayn al-Ayyām: Part I: PP: 58-59.

2. <sup>-2-</sup> Ibid: PP: 138

3. <sup>-3-</sup> Ibid: 113-113.

4. <sup>-4-</sup> Abū al-Raḥmān Baḥrī: pp: Preface.

Mohammad-al-'Udadi on book 'al-Tahzib'; and of Shaykh Darūz or 'Shaykh Ibn-al-'Aqīl 'Alā-al-'Alfiyyah'.

Founded as back as 970 AD, al-'Ulūm al-'Azhariyah was passing through a very critical phase of its existence. It had, for centuries, remained the only highest seat of learning in whole of the Muslim ~~World~~ world and had gained a high reputation as a school of Islamic Studies. <sup>-1-</sup> Hadith, Tafsir, Tawhid, grammar, syntax, prosody, rhetoric and logic were mainly taught at al-Azhar. Astronomy was taught for practical purposes and in no adventurous spirit. Physical sciences, history, mathematics, geography and literature had virtually fallen prey to the neglect of authorities and teachers. The ~~methods~~ methods of teaching and learning were followed which, besides hitting the initiatives of a student, entailed no scope for healthy discussions causing absence of close contacts between the teacher and the taught - much needed for overall mental growth of a student. This really hampered the progress in studies resulting in the relaxation of the high standards for which this seat of learning had gained a name. Jamāl-al-Dīn Afḡānī's visit (April, 1871 to 1879) and the reformative move sponsored by his valiant pupil, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh had a lasting effect, but tangible results were yet far off. Nothing ~~but~~ in al-Azhar could satisfy the urge of young Tāhā to learn more and to acquire real knowledge. At al-Azhar persons ~~xxx~~ like Shaykh 'Alī al-Marsafī and Shaykh 'Abd al-'Arīf Jāwīsh were bold critics of Azhar, its outmoded teaching methods and narrow curriculum. <sup>-2-</sup> Tāhā ~~xx~~ Husayn was inspired by their views. Tāhā Husayn had entered Azhar with high hopes, thirst for knowledge and a genuine desire to quench it. But, seeing that all this was <sup>im</sup>possible under the prevalent circumstances, he showed first sign of displeasure with the system in 1907. In this year his relations

1. Hill - Weymont, The ~~xx~~ stream of Days: (Translation of al-Ayyam): PP: IV.

2. Fiwād Duwārah: 'Ashrah al-'Udaba' Yatahadathūn: PP: 15-16.

with Azhar remained confined to attending lectures on 'Fiqh' by Shaykh Mohammad al-Bakhīt and on literature by Shaykh 'Alī al-Marsafī. Soon Shaykh al-Marsafī was debarred from delivering lectures at al-Azhar. Finding out that Tāhā Hussayn, Ahmad Hassan Zayyāt and Shaykh Mahmūd al-Z Zannātī attended his lectures at home, the university authorities took a very strong notice of it and the students were rusticated from the University. Tāhā Hussayn wrote a very strong article against the doctor of al-Azhar, Shaykh Salīm al Bushrī, and took it to Ahmad Lutfī al-Saiyid, the editor of 'al-Jarīdah', for publication. Ahmad Lutfī advised him ~~not~~ not to do this and as a result of the former's mediation, the order of rustication was treated as cancelled. Tāhā Hussayn would occasionally attend the lectures of Sh. al-Hakīm on the commentary of 'al-Talkhīṣ' of 'al-Sa'id'. Meanwhile, he would pay regular visits to the then recently established Kh. Iviḥ Library.

At the political front the current of events was not smooth. 'Arabī Pāṣhā and Safiyid 'Abd-al-'Aul had presented their demands ~~for~~ on behalf of the army officers to the King very boldly. There was an increasing demand for complete freedom. Mustafā Kāmil, Sa'id Zaghlūl and Ahmad Lutfī had very vehemently advocated the cause of universalisation of education. IN 1908, the first Egyptian University was established. Shaykh al-Marsafī advised Tāhā Hussayn to change his ~~subject~~ subject from religion to literature and Ahmad Lutfī Saiyid suggested to him to attend the Egyptian University instead of al-Azhar.

The years 1902 to 1907, during which Tāhā Hussayn studied at al-Azhar, were of crucial importance for this seat of learning. For quite a long time ~~the~~

---

1. 'Abdul Rahman Badwī: PP: Preface.

2. Muwāḍ Dīwān: PP: 13.



the need was felt to provide students with more avenues of learning. The ~~first~~ visit of Jamāl al-Dīn had, in fact, given impetus to this drive and when, in 1894, as Rector of al-Azhar, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh found an opportunity to translate his plan of reforms into action, he carried them out despite strong opposition he met from the majority of Shuyūkh of al-Azhar. He improved the living ~~for~~ conditions of students, re-organised the libraries, reformed the administration, <sup>-2-</sup> tightened the teaching regulations and lengthened the academic year. Besides, other subjects, he introduced mathematics and geography in the Curriculum and laid stress on study of Islamic History, composition and literature. Among others, Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn also benefited from these reforms. With these changes in curriculum and administration, an educational phenomenon was sought to be developed in which a student could develop, in himself, the qualities of thinking, <sup>-3-</sup> deep knowledge and patience for research. At al-Azhar, Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn was much influenced by the scholarship of Shaykh Saiyid 'Alī al-Marsafī whose debt he graciously acknowledges. <sup>-4-</sup> The impact which the overall reformatory drive undertaken by Muḥammad 'Abduh had on Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn is vividly depicted in the pages of Al-Ayyām. <sup>-5-</sup>

The opportunity to attend the recently established Egyptian University meant to Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn the end of sufferings he had undergone at al-Azhar. His remark, "a very dark night in which heavy clouds gather together to keep out all light," seems to be appropriate for the conditions. ~~XX, which is~~  
~~the only way to see the light, is to have a very strong light, which is the only way to see the light.~~

1. Hillary Wayment: PP: VIII.

2. Ibid: PP: IX.

3. Fuwād Duwārāh: PP: 15.

4. Ibid: PP: 17.

5. Ibid: PP: 18.

6. Muzakirāt: PP: 7. (by Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn)

prevailing at Al-Azhar at that time. A public University was a novelty to him and he soon found it more to his liking. The lectures delivered were on a variety of subjects and covered different branches of knowledge, the acquisition of which had since long been a cherished ambition of Tāhā Husayn. From the very inception of the University he attended the lectures of Ahmad Zaki Bīk on Islamic civilization, of Ahmad Kamil Basha on Ancient Egyptian Civilization and of Ignazio Guidi on Geographical and Historical Literature. Later, when ~~an~~ Guidi was replaced by Enno Littmann, who delivered lectures on Semitic Languages, Tāhā Husayn attended his lectures on 'Aurami', 'Abrani' and 'Habbashi' languages. He absorbed much of the ideas of Enno Littmann, a great professor of History of the Arabs and the Arabic Literature. Mr. Nallino, came to Egypt and delivered lectures on these subjects in the Egyptian University during 1910 and 1913. These lectures were attended by Tāhā Husayn regularly and they had a tremendous impact on him in determining the course of his intellectual and literary progress. He was in formative years of his life at that time. He has acknowledged, with gratitude, the debt he owed to <sup>-1-</sup>Professor Millino. Tāhā Husayn attended the lectures of Hatāh Mohammad Sultan on Islamic Philosophy and later, when professor Santillana came to the Egyptian University to deliver lectures on Islamic philosophy, Tāhā Husayn attended his lectures too and was much influenced by his scholarship. Tāhā Husayn has always referred to Professor ~~for~~ <sup>-2-</sup>Santillana with deep respect and regard. On the history, <sup>6</sup>Ancient East, particularly that of 'Babul', 'Agnur' and 'Shumar', Tāhā Husayn regularly attended the lectures of Professor Muelumi till his death in Egypt. On the

---

1. Fawā'id Durrāh: PP: 18.

2. Ibid: PP: 18.

terminology of philosophy, Tāhā Hussayn attended the lectures of Professor Masinuine during 1912 and 1913.

Since, nearly all the Orientalists in the Egyptian University came from France and except Professor Gidi, they all delivered their lectures in French, Tāhā Hussayn began to learn French from the very beginning of his University career in 1908, till he achieved the capacity to understand the lectures delivered in this language. He attended the lectures of Professor Louis celement on History of French Language and Literature. Lectures on the geography of Western Africa were delivered by Emile Bert and Tāhā Hussayn attended them also.

Tarībush wearing editor of al-Jarīdah, Ahmad Lutfī Saiyid, was a moderate modernist, whose writings and company had a considerable influence on the early intellectual growth of Tāhā Hussayn. Tāhā Hussayn developed friendly relations with Ahmad Lutfī Saiyid when the latter intervended on behalf of him and his friends to get them readmitted to al-Azhar. It was his philosophy of modernism, which drew Tāhā Hussayn closer to him. Tāhā Hussayn had has termed the philosophy of Ahmad Lutfī as philosophy of renovation and not of rejection of the old; a philosophy of freedom and sincerity in the widest sense of these terms; a philosophy of good taste and economy of expression. Though Tāhā Hussayn aligned himself with the Ahmad Lutfī's philosophy, yet it could not completely satisfy his extreme passion for modernism.

Since the Egyptian University was in its infant stage, the procedure had not developed yet to present the student the adequate and active guidance of a professor. Taha Hussayn decided to carry on research on 'Abū'l 'Alī' al 'Mā'arī' - a blind poet, author and sceptic philosopher of the 'Abbasid Period with

1. 'Abd-al-Rehman Badwi: PP: Preface.

2. Hadīth-al-Arba'ā: TE: PP: 56-59.

whose life and ~~his~~ thinking ~~as~~ Tāhā Hussayn felt close affinity.

During one of his lectures on the poetry of 'Abū-al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, Tāhā Hussayn's teacher, Shaykh Muhammad al-Mahdī while explaining the Verse :-  
 تَطْمِئِنَّا لِأَيَّامٍ حَتَّى نَأْتِنَا : زَجَاجٌ وَلَكِنْ لَا يَعَادِلُهُ سِيكٌ

(The days shatter us as though we were made of <sup>or</sup> glass (of glass) which can not be remoulded) contended that no 'evidence' of resurrection is implied in this verse as the irreaperability spoken of applies to glass alone. This was contradicted by <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ Tāhā Hussayn in his thesis arguing that glass could be remoulded and it was human body, which could not be. By referring to a point and ~~not~~ referring to Shaykh Muhammad al-Mahdī with the remark, "and our teacher Muhammad al-Mahdī presumed," he annoyed Shaykh Mahdī. Tāhā Hussayn submitted his thesis entitled Dhikrā Abī 'l-'Alā' in 1914. It was examined by Shaykh Muhammad al-Mahdī, who was an associate of Shaykh Muhammad 'Abdī and Shaykh Muhammad al-Khadiri in the examining bench. He had a bitter literary wrangling with Tāhā Hussayn at the time of viva. Tāhā Hussayn was challenged to prove that the art of remoulding of glass was known ~~at~~ <sup>the</sup> at the time of al-Ma'arri, which <sup>he</sup> could not do at that time, though later, he found two verses in al-Ma'arri's poetry which emphatically prove that the art of remoulding of glass was known at that time. Shaykh Muhammad al-Mahdī is presumed to have prevailed upon his colleagues to rate the thesis as 'very good' instead of 'excellent' which rating it <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ ly deserved.

In the foreward to Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī al-'Alā', Tāhā Hussayn says, "This is the first thesis presented to the (Egyptian) University, first to be publicly ~~only~~ examined and first to earn for its author the Degree of Doctorate in Philosophy". The thesis was published by 'Abd al-Hamid al-Hamīdī in 1915 and

1. Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī al-'Alā': PP: 11.

2. Cachia: PP: 54.

3. Hadith al-Ashbāh III: PP: 49-50

had a far-reaching effect on the research work of future.

This thesis generated much criticism against it and its author, the severest of it coming from a legislator from Port Saïd 'Abd-al-Fattāh al-Jamal. He posted a letter to 'Abd al-Zafar, the head of the law lectures, urging him that 'Abd al-Husayn be debarred from enjoying University facilities as he has written a thesis in which he has up held apostasy. But, thanks to the good will and keen interest of Zafar to see academic freedom secure in the Egyptian University, he called the member and prevailed upon him to withdraw his request. This averted the move which, if debated upon, could have proved dangerous for free literary endeavours.

The Egyptian University had undertaken a project to send the Egyptian scholars to foreign countries on educational missions and 'Abd al-Husayn was selected to be one of them. His name was approved for admission to the University of Paris and, he, according to the schedule, had to leave for France on August 2, 1914. But, due to the break of world war I, his departure was postponed and the Egyptian scholars already in foreign countries on Educational Missions were recalled. When he was allowed to leave for Montpellier instead of Paris, which was very close to the War front. Thus, he left for Montpellier in November, 1914. He was accompanied by his brother.

When 'Abd al-Husayn reached the cabin of the ship, he put off his traditional clothes and put on an European Suit. On reaching Montpellier, he found himself not in a position to study there. The coaching provided to him by al-Azhar and the knowledge of the French language he had gained at the

1. 'Abd-al-Rahmān Badī: PP: Preface.

75

Egyptian University were not considered sufficient enough for this purpose. He decided to undertake the French High School programme and worked very hard. He had expected that his teachers would ask him to prepare papers on the courses which he prepared of his own. But, these papers did not even ~~merit~~ merit the criticism of the teachers. This criticism encouraged him to under yet more hard work till he passed the course. He then got prepared to attend lectures of the University being delivered in French.

At Montpellier, he attended the lectures on psychology, French Literature and Modern History delivered by professor 'Faugo'. He was ordered to return to Egypt in September, 1915 as the French authorities were going through financial crisis. He returned and remained in Egypt for some months. During the course of his stay at Cairo, he attended one of the lectures of Shaykh Muhammad al-Mandī and renewed his old feud of publishing a article in the journal al-Safar in which he made a comparison between the contents and style of the lectures he had attended at Montpellier and those of Shaykh al-Mandī. He wrote in derogatory terms about him. Al-Mandī decided to sue him for the Tāhā Hussayn's scholarship was cancelled and he almost succeeded in it, because Tāhā Hussayn refused to apologize. But, <sup>the</sup> 'Alvī Pasha requested 'Alī Bahiāt, Director of the Archaeological Department, to intervene on his behalf. 'Alī Bahiāt got the misunderstanding between the teacher and the taught cleared. This ended the feud which, if continued, would have forbidden Taha Hussayn from returning to Paris.

Sultan Fuṣṣayn Kamil used his ~~good~~ good offices in helping the Egyptian University authorities to come out of the financial crisis. When the financial stability of the University <sup>was</sup> restored, it decided ~~it~~ upon ~~to~~ sending the scholars

---

1. Assad N. Rasūl: The Development of Tāhā Hussayn's Islamic thought: The Muslim World Vol: LXVIII Num: 4, October 1978: PP: 259-264.

2. 'Amal-al-Rehman Badwī: PP: Profit ce.

to foreign countries. Tāhā Husayn was allowed to go to Paris this time and he sailed for Paris in December, 1915.

At Sorbonne, he attended classes on French, Greek and Latin languages till he found in himself the necessary qualification to follow, with ease, the lectures being delivered in French. He followed the lectures of Minacht scholars, mainly of Glotz on Greek History, of J. Bloch on Roman History, of Seignobos on Modern History, of Emile Durkheim on Sociology and Philosophy and of Cassanova on the commentary on the Qurān. After the death of Durkheim, Tāhā Husayn attended the lectures on philosophy and Sociology by Léon Brunschvicg.

In 1917, Tāhā Husayn succeeded in securing the 'Licence-es-Lettres' from Sorbonne. In Latin Language, he got sixteen ~~max~~ marks out of twenty. He attended the lectures on Byzantine Culture and ~~Modern~~ Middle Ages by Charles Diehl, on French Literature by Lanson and on Descartes by Lévy Bruhl.

The intensive study of ~~Abū~~ 'Abū 'Alā al-Ma'arri was an important factor in motivating Tāhā Husayn to follow his sceptic philosophy in his life, because he found much similarity between him and his ownself. We see Tāhā Husayn following this philosopher poet even in many names of eating and talking. But, as far as love for the fair sex is concerned, Tāhā Husayn could not follow his hero. Very early, when he was a student at Kutta', he would pay off ~~some~~ and or visits to his classmate, 'Uthman's house, where his two sisters - 'Azīzah and Amīnah - were the main source of his interest. 'Azīzah was an adolescent, whose sweet voice absorbed Tāhā Husayn and Amīnah was a divorcee, whose voice aroused in Tāhā Husayn the sentiments of affection or love - perhaps both. When Tāhā Husayn was

1. 'Abū 'Alā al-Ma'arri: PP: Preface.

2. 'Abbas Khadar: Gurman al-Jadid: 77: 6-7.

3. Ibid: PP: ~~Preface~~ 6.

asked to attend lectures of Azharite and Inspector of Roads posted in the Village, he was pleased with the idea and regularly attended his lectures at home. But, soon an important motivating factor was added to this by Tāhā Hussayn's acquaintance with the wife of the Inspector. She was sixteen years of age and would talk to young Tāhā to get rid of the clutters of loneliness. But, sweet and tender voice was all that mattered for Tāhā Hussayn. He was all the more pleased, when this lady developed acquaintance with his mother. This may have meant anything for the two ladies, but for Tāhā Hussayn, it meant more frequent visits of the lady to his house and, consequently, her increased company.

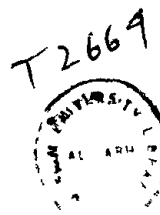
Dedicating his book 'Qisas Tamthiliyah', Tāhā Hussayn writes, "Dedicated to my wife whom God made for me light ~~as~~ after darkness, a joy after loneliness and a blessing after despair." Tāhā Hussayn first met his lady at Montpellier on Monday, May 15, 1915, when he had been a host of the young lady Suzanne and her mother. He requested her to act as his Secretary, which she accepted. The ~~first~~ interview had a most profound effect on Tāhā Hussayn, he did not have a sound sleep that night and forever celebrated the anniversary of the event. The friendship that developed, as such, between this blind scholar from Egypt and Suzanne, is a touching romance. They first became acquainted as she read for him literature, philosophy and history. This gradually unfolded between the two a mutual understanding based on the love of literature and they both read together. The personal and melodious voice together with affectionate and tender words of Suzanne had an absorbing effect on Tāhā Hussayn that he says, "Before long love found its way through my soul, I do not remember that you would want me to describe to you ~~what~~ what emotion this love stirred

1. 'Abbās Khadar: 'Qurān al-Ulaḥā': PP: 7.

2. 'Al-Aḥyām I: PP: 17.

3. Tāhā Hussayn: 'Qisas Tamthiliyah': PP: 7.

4. 'Abbās Khadar: PP: 12-13.





in my heart ..... I used to listen to her voice when she read, becoming so absorbed in the voice that I could not pay attention to the words ..... If I were asked what I heard at such time, I would not be able to reply except to say that I heard the ~~most~~ sweetest of music; If I were asked what I could remember of that music I could not reply except to say that I liked its source." <sup>-1-</sup>

Tāhā Husayn proposed and, after Suzanne overcame her misgivings about marriage to a Muslim, she accepted the proposal. They reported from each other for some weeks during which Tāhā Husayn persuaded the University authorities to waive the restriction on research scholars not to marry during their scholarship. His request was favourably considered and he was allowed to marry. On August 9, 1917, they got married. <sup>-2-</sup>

The association of Tāhā Husayn with Suzanne had had a very favourable impact on his personality. Besides giving her birth to two children - one male and the other female - besides smoothing away sharp and rough edges of his personality and besides blinding his self - she was responsible for changing his outlook on a number of things. Addressing his daughter, he says of her, "My daughter, this angel showered affection on your father, she changed him from misery to felicity, from despair to hope from poverty to riches and from wretchedness to happiness and serenity". <sup>-3-</sup>

At Sorbonne Tāhā Husayn undertook research for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy under the able guidance of Emile Durkheim and after his death, under Celestin Bouglé. The topic of his thesis was, "La Philosophie Sociale d'Ibn Khaladūn", which he submitted in 1918 and which was examined by Celestin

1. *Sāmī al-Hijālī: Ma' Tāhā Husayn* quoted by Kermit Schoonover: *Contemporary Egyptian Authors II: The Muslim World*: vol. 45: PP: 361-362.

2. *Abbass Khadr*: PP: 15.

3. *Al-Ayyam I*: PP: 152.

Bongle, G: Block and Cosonova, who awarded to him the Degree, 'Tres Honorable'.  
 The Degree was presented to Taha Husayn on January 12, 1918. Then in June, 1919 he was awarded Diploma in Higher Studies". The topic for the Diploma was 'Lo Loi d Lese majeste' Sons Tibere d' Spre's Tacite'. The preparation for this Diploma took him nearly one year during which he read Roman Law of civilisation (in 8 volumes) and Roman Criminal Code (in three volumes). Both these books are the ~~research~~ research work of famous scholar of the Roman History, Hensen. He had to present original Latin works which he did and proved, beyond a doubt, his great hold on the Latin Language and sources of its knowledge. He got the diploma with a remark of 'excellence'.

In 1907, Ahmad Lutfi Saiyid edited a journal 'al-Jaridah' which represented the thinking and attitude of moderate modernists and which served as the mouth organ of 'Hizb al-Ummah'. (People's Party). The Hizb al 'Ummah was actively supported by Lord Cromer and, in fact, it was his creation. It was brought into being mainly to oppose palace, and Hizb al-Watani (National Party), which represented the people. Taha Husayn aligned himself with Hizb al-Ummah as back as 1907, when he had first meeting with Ahmad Lutfi Saiyid and he continued his association with the party till 1914, when he left for Paris.

Publication of Milner, Commission Report and subsequent street fighting in 1921 had shaken the colonialists who, after the Revolution was subdued, had very much settled themselves to crush any demand for freedom. But, National Movement had grown more powerful and more assertive. Fortunately, it found a spokesman in Political Arabi of Egypt, Sa'id Zaghlul, who put forward his slogan 'Complete Independence or Violent Death'. The delegation which he led

1. 'Abd al-Jahman Badwi: PP: Preface.

2. Ibid: PP: Preface.

3. 'Raj' al-Haggash: 'Udaba' al-Husayni: II: 20.

4. Ibid: PP: 25.

5. Ibid: PP: 32.

had formed to negotiate his case at Paris Peace Conference ~~became~~ became a Party and came to be known by that name. The slogan raised by Sa'id Zaghlul<sup>80</sup> was endorsed by vast majority of the Egyptians, but some of the leaders of the 'Wafd' were of the opinion that it was better to adopt moderate measures, ~~they~~ hoped to gain greater concessions from Britain through this policy. In 1921, ~~Adli Pasha~~ Pasha decided to negotiate with Britain and next year he established Liberal Constitutional Party. ~~Adli Pasha~~ Adli Pasha and his party members were charged with the allegation of currying favour with Britain and grinding their own axes and caring a fig for the National Interests.

Taha Husayn, after remaining in France for five years, returned to Egypt in October, 1919 and was appointed to the post of Professor of Ancient History in the Egyptian University. In 1924, the University was declared to be a government institution and Taha Husayn was transferred to the Chair of Arabic Literature. This appointment raised violent storms of protest, <sup>to</sup> because of the liberal references of Taha Husayn on religion matters and on Pre-Islamic Poetry. <sup>-2-</sup> The reference of ~~Sahabiyasayn~~ were made by him during his lectures at the Egyptian University.

Taha Husayn found himself mentally very close to the recently established Liberal Constitutional Party. As such, he became its active member from the very inception of the Party in 1922. <sup>-3-</sup> In 1922, this Party edited 'al-Siyasah' as its mouth organ and Taha Husayn edited its section on literature. <sup>-4-</sup> He contributed a weekly column, which consisted of paraphrases and critiques of 'Jahili', Umayyad and early 'Abbasid ~~poets~~ poets in which he used every opportunity <sup>to</sup> ~~advocate the~~ <sup>to</sup> need for modernisation of Literature. <sup>-5-</sup>

1. Raja' al-Maqqash: 'Udab al-Hu'asirun: PP: 33.

2. Cachia: PP: 58.

3. Raja' al-Maqqash: PP: 34.

4. Shawqi Daif: PP: 279.

5. Details In Hadith al-Arba'a Vol: II, I, III.

Abdoulhameed Taha Hussayn had extensively read Descartes' philosophy. He was very much convinced by his philosophy and canons of literary criticism. The main characteristic is to establish on the reliability of everything, then to proceed to see whether or not instances and related evidences prove it as valid and to believe in it only when it is proved. Naturally, it needs vast knowledge and ~~an~~ experience to come to the right conclusion. Otherwise, the method, when adopted and employed, ~~it is not~~ will be productive of embarrassing results. Taha Hussayn employed this very method in his book 'Fi-al-Shi'r-al-Jahili' published in 1926. No sooner did the book reach general public than it generated such a storm of violent protests throughout the country as was unknown throughout its history and it was thought that the book had undermined the foundations of the Islamic faith. The University authorities were urged to dismiss Taha Hussayn from his post and to explain why they were allowing to <sup>teach</sup> heretical doctrines while the University was receiving State funds. The matter was referred to the Parliament where a heated discussion took place. The situation became so tense that the danger of constitutional crises was averted only by the timely threat of 'Adli Pasha - the then Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Constitutional Party - of which Taha Hussayn was an active member - to resign in case the demand was not withdrawn. But, it was agreed to that on the one hand, the book would be confiscated and ~~for~~ on the other, legal proceedings would be ordered against the Rector of al-Azhar and others. The court, after careful examination of the case, dismissed the charges levelled against the Rector of al-Azhar and his associates.

When the administrative council of the University met on May 12, 1925, Taha Hussayn was one of its members. Ahmad Lutfi Sayid was the President of the

1. Chawqi Durr: 250.

2. C. C. Adams: Islam and Modernism in Egypt: PP: 254-255.

3. Ibid: PP: 255.

the Council. When the book was confiscated, Tāhā Husayn offered his resignation from the Chair of Arabic Literature, but it was refused to him by Ahmad Lutfī Sa'īd.<sup>-1-</sup> He was advised to avail of leave facility and ~~and~~ enjoy the vacations in Paris.

In "Fi-al-Shi'ar al-Jāhili", Tāhā Husayn has expressed his doubts about the authenticity of the pre-Islamic poetry which he maintains is forged for the most part of it and a creation of the post-Islamic period. From this he wants to infer that the life ~~picture~~ portrayed in this poetry is actually that of the Muslims and not of the pre-Islamic Arabs. As far as the genuine pre-Islamic ~~poetry~~ poetry is concerned, it is so scant that it cannot be relied upon for a real picture of the culture of that period.<sup>-2-</sup>

The most objectionable part of the book was that in which he had expressed his doubts about the personalities of Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl and had challenged to prove that these persons ever existed and they ~~are~~ ever came to Arabia and laid foundations of the Ka'bah. This was a direct attack on the religious feelings of the Muslims and a challenge to the authenticity of the Qurān. He says on page twenty six of "Fi-al-Shi'ar al-Jāhili" :-

'The Tawrāt speaks about Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl and so speaks the Qurān about them. But, occurrence of their names in the Tawrāt and the Qurān is not sufficient to prove their historic existence. From the story which gives details of Ismā'īl Bin Ibrāhīm's migration to Mecca and the upgrowth of the Arabized people, we are compelled to see in it a calculated move to prove a relationship between the Arabs and the Jews on the one hand; between Islam and Judaism on the other and between the Tawrāt and the Qurān from yet one more side'.<sup>-3-</sup>

1. G.C:Adams:PP:325.

2. G.C:Adams:Islam and Modernism in Egypt 255-256.

3. Quoted by Raḡā' al Naqqāsh:PP:40.

The contents of the book were most vehemently criticised by a number of writers. In fact, many writers wrote independent books<sup>1</sup> to contradict and criticise his arguments. This book was not firmly based on historical facts. To Hama: Gibb, "It is pre-Islamic poetry was a logical argument based on erroneous premises". To Mohammad al-Haqar Husayn, author of Naqd Kitāb Fi Shi'r al-Jāhili, it was Tāhā Husayn's attack on Islam which aroused greatest ~~stir~~ stir, for his mistakes were not of the ordinary type which men of letters hear quietly and answer in a mild way. Mohammad Farid Wajdi has presented his book, 'Naqd Kitāb al-Shi'r al-Jāhili' in a scholarly and dignified manner. Mustafā Sādiq al-Rifā'i in his book 'Tahta Rayāt al-Qurān', has attacked Tāhā Husayn most bluntly.

With this storm of criticism Tāhā Husayn was compelled to revise his book and rethink on the setting and presentation of the material. As a result, he dropped the most objectionable portion of the book, added new chapters and reprinted it in an amended form under the title 'Fi al-Adab al-Jāhili' in 1927.

During 1919-1927, he published books on a variety of subjects. In 1919, he published 'al-Zāhirāt al-Dīniyāt 'Ind al-Yūnān wa Tatawwur al-Āliahā wa Athruhā Fi al-Madīyah'. In 1920, he translated master pieces of Greek poetry ~~in~~ under the title 'Shu'f Mukhtārāt Min Shi'r al-Tamthiliyah 'Ind al-Yūnān'. The lectures delivered by him in the Egyptian University from 1919-1924 have been published under the title Darūs Tārīkh al-Qadīm Fi al-Jamī'ah al-Misriyyah. He, together with Mohammad Ramadan translated, from French, the work of Julius Simon and published it in four volumes in 1920-21 under the title "al-Wājib". He translated Aristotle's book 'Nicomachean Ethics' from Greek and published

---

1. Quoted by Asad N Ismail: PP: 266.

it in 1921 under the title "Nizam-al-Atidhiyyin". Tāhā Husayn was keen to see educational reforms implemented in Egypt. To serve as a guide, he translated Gustave Le Bon's 'Psychologie de l'Education' into Arabic and published it in 1921 under the title 'Ruh al-Tarbiyah'. From 1923-1927, he ~~published~~ published paraphrases of a very large number of French Plays, which were later ~~collected~~ collected and published in book form under the titles, 'Qisas Tamthiliyah, Lahzāt (two volumes) and Sawt al-Bāris (also two volumes). The paraphrases of ~~the~~ Jahili, Umayyad and early 'Abbasid poetry published by him in weekly columns of al-Siyāsah were, later collected in book form and published in three volumes under the title of '~~Ma'adik~~ Hadith-al-Arab'.

In 1928, Tāhā Husayn was appointed as Dean Faculty of Arts at a time when the Wafdists had formed the government. Tāhā Husayn, being very close to Liberal Constitutional Party, the appointment enraged 'Alī Ṣ. Ḥamsī, who was Minister of Education. He demanded resignation of Tāhā Husayn from the post which he did and French professor Michand was again appointed to the post.

In 1930, the term of Michand was over as Dean of Faculty of Arts and Tāhā Husayn was appointed to the post again. This was in Ismā'īl Sidiqī Pāshā's government that his minister of Education Saiyid Ahmad asked Tāhā Husayn to resign his post and accept the editorship of 'al Sha'ab', the mouth organ of the newly formed 'Hizb al-Sha'abi at the head of which was Ismā'īl Sidiqī Pāshā, who was considered to be the 'palace man'. But, Tāhā Husayn rejected the offer. This, Saiyid Ahmad could not forget throughout the three years of his term of office during which the ministry lasted. Hizb al-Sha'abi was formed in

---

1930, which was taken to be a great threat by the 'Wafdists and the Liberal Constitutionalists alike. The new development forced them to forget their mutual bitterness for the time being and they came close to each other to resist the threat of authoritarianism posed ~~by~~ by this new development.

The government of Isma'īl Sidqī Pāshā wanted to confer honorary degrees on politicians like 'Alī 'Māhir, 'Ibrāhīm Yahyā, 'Abd-al-'Azīz-al-'Azmī and 'Awfīq Rif'at. The then Minister of Education, ~~Wāḥid~~ Hilmī Pāshā, persuaded Tāḥā Husayn to make a provision for conferring such degrees on them on behalf of the Faculty of Arts. But, he refused saying that it would be setting bad precedence and would be telling upon the standards of the University. <sup>as a result</sup>, the government turned towards the Faculty of Law and the degrees were awarded. In 1922, the question of Tāḥā Husayn's 'apostasy' was revived by one of the Parliamentarians 'Abd al-'Hamīd Sa'id and, as a result, Tāḥā Husayn was transferred ~~in accordance~~ by a Ministerial decree to the Ministry itself. Tāḥā Husayn refused to co-operate and insisted upon his demand to send him back to his parent post in the University. <sup>-1-</sup> But, the government was not in a mood to accede to his request and instead dismissed him from the government service. There was a storm of protests. The University students went on strike. Many members of the University Administration Council resigned. 'Ahmad Lutfī Saiyid was its president and he also <sup>-2-</sup> resigned, but the government was unmoved.

The course of events had forced the wafdists and the Liberal Constitutionalists to come close and face jointly the threat to the National interests posed by the Constitution of 'Hizb al-Sha'abi'. Tāḥā Husayn was an active ~~supporter~~ supporter of the Liberal Constitution Party. We see a remarkable change developing

---

1. 'Abd-al-Rehman Badwi: PP: Preface.

2. Sachse: J: 61.



in his attitude towards the Wafdists from the very inception of this Phenomenon of good will fostered between them and the Liberal Constitutionalists by this event and, particularly, after Tāhā Husayn was dismissed from government service on March 29, 1932. He confined his activities to writing occasional articles in 'al-Siyāsah', which was published under the editorship of Mohammad ~~Husayn~~ <sup>Haykal</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup> <sup>206</sup> <sup>207</sup> <sup>208</sup> <sup>209</sup> <sup>210</sup> <sup>211</sup> <sup>212</sup> <sup>213</sup> <sup>214</sup> <sup>215</sup> <sup>216</sup> <sup>217</sup> <sup>218</sup> <sup>219</sup> <sup>220</sup> <sup>221</sup> <sup>222</sup> <sup>223</sup> <sup>224</sup> <sup>225</sup> <sup>226</sup> <sup>227</sup> <sup>228</sup> <sup>229</sup> <sup>230</sup> <sup>231</sup> <sup>232</sup> <sup>233</sup> <sup>234</sup> <sup>235</sup> <sup>236</sup> <sup>237</sup> <sup>238</sup> <sup>239</sup> <sup>240</sup> <sup>241</sup> <sup>242</sup> <sup>243</sup> <sup>244</sup> <sup>245</sup> <sup>246</sup> <sup>247</sup> <sup>248</sup> <sup>249</sup> <sup>250</sup> <sup>251</sup> <sup>252</sup> <sup>253</sup> <sup>254</sup> <sup>255</sup> <sup>256</sup> <sup>257</sup> <sup>258</sup> <sup>259</sup> <sup>260</sup> <sup>261</sup> <sup>262</sup> <sup>263</sup> <sup>264</sup> <sup>265</sup> <sup>266</sup> <sup>267</sup> <sup>268</sup> <sup>269</sup> <sup>270</sup> <sup>271</sup> <sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup> <sup>274</sup> <sup>275</sup> <sup>276</sup> <sup>277</sup> <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup> <sup>280</sup> <sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup> <sup>283</sup> <sup>284</sup> <sup>285</sup> <sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup> <sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup> <sup>290</sup> <sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup> <sup>293</sup> <sup>294</sup> <sup>295</sup> <sup>296</sup> <sup>297</sup> <sup>298</sup> <sup>299</sup> <sup>300</sup> <sup>301</sup> <sup>302</sup> <sup>303</sup> <sup>304</sup> <sup>305</sup> <sup>306</sup> <sup>307</sup> <sup>308</sup> <sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> <sup>311</sup> <sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup> <sup>314</sup> <sup>315</sup> <sup>316</sup> <sup>317</sup> <sup>318</sup> <sup>319</sup> <sup>320</sup> <sup>321</sup> <sup>322</sup> <sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> <sup>325</sup> <sup>326</sup> <sup>327</sup> <sup>328</sup> <sup>329</sup> <sup>330</sup> <sup>331</sup> <sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup> <sup>334</sup> <sup>335</sup> <sup>336</sup> <sup>337</sup> <sup>338</sup> <sup>339</sup> <sup>340</sup> <sup>341</sup> <sup>342</sup> <sup>343</sup> <sup>344</sup> <sup>345</sup> <sup>346</sup> <sup>347</sup> <sup>348</sup> <sup>349</sup> <sup>350</sup> <sup>351</sup> <sup>352</sup> <sup>353</sup> <sup>354</sup> <sup>355</sup> <sup>356</sup> <sup>357</sup> <sup>358</sup> <sup>359</sup> <sup>360</sup> <sup>361</sup> <sup>362</sup> <sup>363</sup> <sup>364</sup> <sup>365</sup> <sup>366</sup> <sup>367</sup> <sup>368</sup> <sup>369</sup> <sup>370</sup> <sup>371</sup> <sup>372</sup> <sup>373</sup> <sup>374</sup> <sup>375</sup> <sup>376</sup> <sup>377</sup> <sup>378</sup> <sup>379</sup> <sup>380</sup> <sup>381</sup> <sup>382</sup> <sup>383</sup> <sup>384</sup> <sup>385</sup> <sup>386</sup> <sup>387</sup> <sup>388</sup> <sup>389</sup> <sup>390</sup> <sup>391</sup> <sup>392</sup> <sup>393</sup> <sup>394</sup> <sup>395</sup> <sup>396</sup> <sup>397</sup> <sup>398</sup> <sup>399</sup> <sup>400</sup> <sup>401</sup> <sup>402</sup> <sup>403</sup> <sup>404</sup> <sup>405</sup> <sup>406</sup> <sup>407</sup> <sup>408</sup> <sup>409</sup> <sup>410</sup> <sup>411</sup> <sup>412</sup> <sup>413</sup> <sup>414</sup> <sup>415</sup> <sup>416</sup> <sup>417</sup> <sup>418</sup> <sup>419</sup> <sup>420</sup> <sup>421</sup> <sup>422</sup> <sup>423</sup> <sup>424</sup> <sup>425</sup> <sup>426</sup> <sup>427</sup> <sup>428</sup> <sup>429</sup> <sup>430</sup> <sup>431</sup> <sup>432</sup> <sup>433</sup> <sup>434</sup> <sup>435</sup> <sup>436</sup> <sup>437</sup> <sup>438</sup> <sup>439</sup> <sup>440</sup> <sup>441</sup> <sup>442</sup> <sup>443</sup> <sup>444</sup> <sup>445</sup> <sup>446</sup> <sup>447</sup> <sup>448</sup> <sup>449</sup> <sup>450</sup> <sup>451</sup> <sup>452</sup> <sup>453</sup> <sup>454</sup> <sup>455</sup> <sup>456</sup> <sup>457</sup> <sup>458</sup> <sup>459</sup> <sup>460</sup> <sup>461</sup> <sup>462</sup> <sup>463</sup> <sup>464</sup> <sup>465</sup> <sup>466</sup> <sup>467</sup> <sup>468</sup> <sup>469</sup> <sup>470</sup> <sup>471</sup> <sup>472</sup> <sup>473</sup> <sup>474</sup> <sup>475</sup> <sup>476</sup> <sup>477</sup> <sup>478</sup> <sup>479</sup> <sup>480</sup> <sup>481</sup> <sup>482</sup> <sup>483</sup> <sup>484</sup> <sup>485</sup> <sup>486</sup> <sup>487</sup> <sup>488</sup> <sup>489</sup> <sup>490</sup> <sup>491</sup> <sup>492</sup> <sup>493</sup> <sup>494</sup> <sup>495</sup> <sup>496</sup> <sup>497</sup> <sup>498</sup> <sup>499</sup> <sup>500</sup> <sup>501</sup> <sup>502</sup> <sup>503</sup> <sup>504</sup> <sup>505</sup> <sup>506</sup> <sup>507</sup> <sup>508</sup> <sup>509</sup> <sup>510</sup> <sup>511</sup> <sup>512</sup> <sup>513</sup> <sup>514</sup> <sup>515</sup> <sup>516</sup> <sup>517</sup> <sup>518</sup> <sup>519</sup> <sup>520</sup> <sup>521</sup> <sup>522</sup> <sup>523</sup> <sup>524</sup> <sup>525</sup> <sup>526</sup> <sup>527</sup> <sup>528</sup> <sup>529</sup> <sup>530</sup> <sup>531</sup> <sup>532</sup> <sup>533</sup> <sup>534</sup> <sup>535</sup> <sup>536</sup> <sup>537</sup> <sup>538</sup> <sup>539</sup> <sup>540</sup> <sup>541</sup> <sup>542</sup> <sup>543</sup> <sup>544</sup> <sup>545</sup> <sup>546</sup> <sup>547</sup> <sup>548</sup> <sup>549</sup> <sup>550</sup> <sup>551</sup> <sup>552</sup> <sup>553</sup> <sup>554</sup> <sup>555</sup> <sup>556</sup> <sup>557</sup> <sup>558</sup> <sup>559</sup> <sup>560</sup> <sup>561</sup> <sup>562</sup> <sup>563</sup> <sup>564</sup> <sup>565</sup> <sup>566</sup> <sup>567</sup> <sup>568</sup> <sup>569</sup> <sup>570</sup> <sup>571</sup> <sup>572</sup> <sup>573</sup> <sup>574</sup> <sup>575</sup> <sup>576</sup> <sup>577</sup> <sup>578</sup> <sup>579</sup> <sup>580</sup> <sup>581</sup> <sup>582</sup> <sup>583</sup> <sup>584</sup> <sup>585</sup> <sup>586</sup> <sup>587</sup> <sup>588</sup> <sup>589</sup> <sup>590</sup> <sup>591</sup> <sup>592</sup> <sup>593</sup> <sup>594</sup> <sup>595</sup> <sup>596</sup> <sup>597</sup> <sup>598</sup> <sup>599</sup> <sup>600</sup> <sup>601</sup> <sup>602</sup> <sup>603</sup> <sup>604</sup> <sup>605</sup> <sup>606</sup> <sup>607</sup> <sup>608</sup> <sup>609</sup> <sup>610</sup> <sup>611</sup> <sup>612</sup> <sup>613</sup> <sup>614</sup> <sup>615</sup> <sup>616</sup> <sup>617</sup> <sup>618</sup> <sup>619</sup> <sup>620</sup> <sup>621</sup> <sup>622</sup> <sup>623</sup> <sup>624</sup> <sup>625</sup> <sup>626</sup> <sup>627</sup> <sup>628</sup> <sup>629</sup> <sup>630</sup> <sup>631</sup> <sup>632</sup> <sup>633</sup> <sup>634</sup> <sup>635</sup> <sup>636</sup> <sup>637</sup> <sup>638</sup> <sup>639</sup> <sup>640</sup> <sup>641</sup> <sup>642</sup> <sup>643</sup> <sup>644</sup> <sup>645</sup> <sup>646</sup> <sup>647</sup> <sup>648</sup> <sup>649</sup> <sup>650</sup> <sup>651</sup> <sup>652</sup> <sup>653</sup> <sup>654</sup> <sup>655</sup> <sup>656</sup> <sup>657</sup> <sup>658</sup> <sup>659</sup> <sup>660</sup> <sup>661</sup> <sup>662</sup> <sup>663</sup> <sup>664</sup> <sup>665</sup> <sup>666</sup> <sup>667</sup> <sup>668</sup> <sup>669</sup> <sup>670</sup> <sup>671</sup> <sup>672</sup> <sup>673</sup> <sup>674</sup> <sup>675</sup> <sup>676</sup> <sup>677</sup> <sup>678</sup> <sup>679</sup> <sup>680</sup> <sup>681</sup> <sup>682</sup> <sup>683</sup> <sup>684</sup> <sup>685</sup> <sup>686</sup> <sup>687</sup> <sup>688</sup> <sup>689</sup> <sup>690</sup> <sup>691</sup> <sup>692</sup> <sup>693</sup> <sup>694</sup> <sup>695</sup> <sup>696</sup> <sup>697</sup> <sup>698</sup> <sup>699</sup> <sup>700</sup> <sup>701</sup> <sup>702</sup> <sup>703</sup> <sup>704</sup> <sup>705</sup> <sup>706</sup> <sup>707</sup> <sup>708</sup> <sup>709</sup> <sup>710</sup> <sup>711</sup> <sup>712</sup> <sup>713</sup> <sup>714</sup> <sup>715</sup> <sup>716</sup> <sup>717</sup> <sup>718</sup> <sup>719</sup> <sup>720</sup> <sup>721</sup> <sup>722</sup> <sup>723</sup> <sup>724</sup> <sup>725</sup> <sup>726</sup> <sup>727</sup> <sup>728</sup> <sup>729</sup> <sup>730</sup> <sup>731</sup> <sup>732</sup> <sup>733</sup> <sup>734</sup> <sup>735</sup> <sup>736</sup> <sup>737</sup> <sup>738</sup> <sup>739</sup> <sup>740</sup> <sup>741</sup> <sup>742</sup> <sup>743</sup> <sup>744</sup> <sup>745</sup> <sup>746</sup> <sup>747</sup> <sup>748</sup> <sup>749</sup> <sup>750</sup> <sup>751</sup> <sup>752</sup> <sup>753</sup> <sup>754</sup> <sup>755</sup> <sup>756</sup> <sup>757</sup> <sup>758</sup> <sup>759</sup> <sup>760</sup> <sup>761</sup> <sup>762</sup> <sup>763</sup> <sup>764</sup> <sup>765</sup> <sup>766</sup> <sup>767</sup> <sup>768</sup> <sup>769</sup> <sup>770</sup> <sup>771</sup> <sup>772</sup> <sup>773</sup> <sup>774</sup> <sup>775</sup> <sup>776</sup> <sup>777</sup> <sup>778</sup> <sup>779</sup> <sup>780</sup> <sup>781</sup> <sup>782</sup> <sup>783</sup> <sup>784</sup> <sup>785</sup> <sup>786</sup> <sup>787</sup> <sup>788</sup> <sup>789</sup> <sup>790</sup> <sup>791</sup> <sup>792</sup> <sup>793</sup> <sup>794</sup> <sup>795</sup> <sup>796</sup> <sup>797</sup> <sup>798</sup> <sup>799</sup> <sup>800</sup> <sup>801</sup> <sup>802</sup> <sup>803</sup> <sup>804</sup> <sup>805</sup> <sup>806</sup> <sup>807</sup> <sup>808</sup> <sup>809</sup> <sup>810</sup> <sup>811</sup> <sup>812</sup> <sup>813</sup> <sup>814</sup> <sup>815</sup> <sup>816</sup> <sup>817</sup> <sup>818</sup> <sup>819</sup> <sup>820</sup> <sup>821</sup> <sup>822</sup> <sup>823</sup> <sup>824</sup> <sup>825</sup> <sup>826</sup> <sup>827</sup> <sup>828</sup> <sup>829</sup> <sup>830</sup> <sup>831</sup> <sup>832</sup> <sup>833</sup> <sup>834</sup> <sup>835</sup> <sup>836</sup> <sup>837</sup> <sup>838</sup> <sup>839</sup> <sup>840</sup> <sup>841</sup> <sup>842</sup> <sup>843</sup> <sup>844</sup> <sup>845</sup> <sup>846</sup> <sup>847</sup> <sup>848</sup> <sup>849</sup> <sup>850</sup> <sup>851</sup> <sup>852</sup> <sup>853</sup> <sup>854</sup> <sup>855</sup> <sup>856</sup> <sup>857</sup> <sup>858</sup> <sup>859</sup> <sup>860</sup> <sup>861</sup> <sup>862</sup> <sup>863</sup> <sup>864</sup> <sup>865</sup> <sup>866</sup> <sup>867</sup> <sup>868</sup> <sup>869</sup> <sup>870</sup> <sup>871</sup> <sup>872</sup> <sup>873</sup> <sup>874</sup> <sup>875</sup> <sup>876</sup> <sup>877</sup> <sup>878</sup> <sup>879</sup> <sup>880</sup> <sup>881</sup> <sup>882</sup> <sup>883</sup> <sup>884</sup> <sup>885</sup> <sup>886</sup> <sup>887</sup> <sup>888</sup> <sup>889</sup> <sup>890</sup> <sup>891</sup> <sup>892</sup> <sup>893</sup> <sup>894</sup> <sup>895</sup> <sup>896</sup> <sup>897</sup> <sup>898</sup> <sup>899</sup> <sup>900</sup> <sup>901</sup> <sup>902</sup> <sup>903</sup> <sup>904</sup> <sup>905</sup> <sup>906</sup> <sup>907</sup> <sup>908</sup> <sup>909</sup> <sup>910</sup> <sup>911</sup> <sup>912</sup> <sup>913</sup> <sup>914</sup> <sup>915</sup> <sup>916</sup> <sup>917</sup> <sup>918</sup> <sup>919</sup> <sup>920</sup> <sup>921</sup> <sup>922</sup> <sup>923</sup> <sup>924</sup> <sup>925</sup> <sup>926</sup> <sup>927</sup> <sup>928</sup> <sup>929</sup> <sup>930</sup> <sup>931</sup> <sup>932</sup> <sup>933</sup> <sup>934</sup> <sup>935</sup> <sup>936</sup> <sup>937</sup> <sup>938</sup> <sup>939</sup> <sup>940</sup> <sup>941</sup> <sup>942</sup> <sup>943</sup> <sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup> <sup>946</sup> <sup>947</sup> <sup>948</sup> <sup>949</sup> <sup>950</sup> <sup>951</sup> <sup>952</sup> <sup>953</sup> <sup>954</sup> <sup>955</sup> <sup>956</sup> <sup>957</sup> <sup>958</sup> <sup>959</sup> <sup>960</sup> <sup>961</sup> <sup>962</sup> <sup>963</sup> <sup>964</sup> <sup>965</sup> <sup>966</sup> <sup>967</sup> <sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup> <sup>1001</sup> <sup>1002</sup> <sup>1003</sup> <sup>1004</sup> <sup>1005</sup> <sup>1006</sup> <sup>1007</sup> <sup>1008</sup> <sup>1009</sup> <sup>1010</sup> <sup>1011</sup> <sup>1012</sup> <sup>1013</sup> <sup>1014</sup> <sup>1015</sup> <sup>1016</sup> <sup>1017</sup> <sup>1018</sup> <sup>1019</sup> <sup>1020</sup> <sup>1021</sup> <sup>1022</sup> <sup>1023</sup> <sup>1024</sup> <sup>1025</sup> <sup>1026</sup> <sup>1027</sup> <sup>1028</sup> <sup>1029</sup> <sup>1030</sup> <sup>1031</sup> <sup>1032</sup> <sup>1033</sup> <sup>1034</sup> <sup>1035</sup> <sup>1036</sup> <sup>1037</sup> <sup>1038</sup> <sup>1039</sup> <sup>1040</sup> <sup>1041</sup> <sup>1042</sup> <sup>1043</sup> <sup>1044</sup> <sup>1045</sup> <sup>1046</sup> <sup>1047</sup> <sup>1048</sup> <sup>1049</sup> <sup>1050</sup> <sup>1051</sup> <sup>1052</sup> <sup>1053</sup> <sup>1054</sup> <sup>1055</sup> <sup>1056</sup> <sup>1057</sup> <sup>1058</sup> <sup>1059</sup> <sup>1060</sup> <sup>1061</sup> <sup>1062</sup> <sup>1063</sup> <sup>1064</sup> <sup>1065</sup> <sup>1066</sup> <sup>1067</sup> <sup>1068</sup> <sup>1069</sup> <sup>1070</sup> <sup>1071</sup> <sup>1072</sup> <sup>1073</sup> <sup>1074</sup> <sup>1075</sup> <sup>1076</sup> <sup>1077</sup> <sup>1078</sup> <sup>1079</sup> <sup>1080</sup> <sup>1081</sup> <sup>1082</sup> <sup>1083</sup> <sup>1084</sup> <sup>1085</sup> <sup>1086</sup> <sup>1087</sup> <sup>1088</sup> <sup>1089</sup> <sup>1090</sup> <sup>1091</sup> <sup>1092</sup> <sup>1093</sup> <sup>1094</sup> <sup>1095</sup> <sup>1096</sup> <sup>1097</sup> <sup>1098</sup> <sup>1099</sup> <sup>1100</sup> <sup>1101</sup> <sup>1102</sup> <sup>1103</sup> <sup>1104</sup> <sup>1105</sup> <sup>1106</sup> <sup>1107</sup> <sup>1108</sup> <sup>1109</sup> <sup>1110</sup> <sup>1111</sup> <sup>1112</sup> <sup>1113</sup> <sup>1114</sup> <sup>1115</sup> <sup>1116</sup> <sup>1117</sup> <sup>1118</sup> <sup>1119</sup> <sup>1120</sup> <sup>1121</sup> <sup>1122</sup> <sup>1123</sup> <sup>1124</sup> <sup>1125</sup> <sup>1126</sup> <sup>1127</sup> <sup>1128</sup> <sup>1129</sup> <sup>1130</sup> <sup>1131</sup> <sup>1132</sup> <sup>1133</sup> <sup>1134</sup> <sup>1135</sup> <sup>1136</sup> <sup>1137</sup> <sup>1138</sup> <sup>1139</sup> <sup>1140</sup> <sup>1141</sup> <sup>1142</sup> <sup>1143</sup> <sup>1144</sup> <sup>1145</sup> <sup>1146</sup> <sup>1147</sup> <sup>1148</sup> <sup>1149</sup> <sup>1150</sup> <sup>1151</sup> <sup>1152</sup> <sup>1153</sup> <sup>1154</sup> <sup>1155</sup> <sup>1156</sup> <sup>1157</sup> <sup>1158</sup> <sup>1159</sup> <sup>1160</sup> <sup>1161</sup> <sup>1162</sup> <sup>1163</sup> <sup>1164</sup> <sup>1165</sup> <sup>1166</sup> <sup>1167</sup> <sup>1168</sup> <sup>1169</sup> <sup>1170</sup> <sup>1171</sup> <sup>1172</sup> <sup>1173</sup> <sup>1174</sup> <sup>1175</sup> <sup>1176</sup> <sup>1177</sup> <sup>1178</sup> <sup>1179</sup> <sup>1180</sup> <sup>1181</sup> <sup>1182</sup> <sup>1183</sup> <sup>1184</sup> <sup>1185</sup> <sup>1186</sup> <sup>1187</sup> <sup>1188</sup> <sup>1189</sup> <sup>1190</sup> <sup>1191</sup> <sup>1192</sup> <sup>1193</sup> <sup>1194</sup> <sup>1195</sup> <sup>1196</sup> <sup>1197</sup> <sup>1198</sup> <sup>1199</sup> <sup>1200</sup> <sup>1201</sup> <sup>1202</sup> <sup>1203</sup> <sup>1204</sup> <sup>1205</sup> <sup>1206</sup> <sup>1207</sup> <sup>1208</sup> <sup>1209</sup> <sup>1210</sup> <sup>1211</sup> <sup>1212</sup> <sup>1213</sup> <sup>1214</sup> <sup>1215</sup> <sup>1216</sup> <sup>1217</sup> <sup>1218</sup> <sup>1219</sup> <sup>1220</sup> <sup>1221</sup> <sup>1222</sup> <sup>1223</sup> <sup>1224</sup> <sup>1225</sup> <sup>1226</sup> <sup>1227</sup> <sup>1228</sup> <sup>1229</sup> <sup>1230</sup> <sup>1231</sup> <sup>1232</sup> <sup>1233</sup> <sup>1234</sup> <sup>1235</sup> <sup>1236</sup> <sup>1237</sup> <sup>1238</sup> <sup>1239</sup> <sup>1240</sup> <sup>1241</sup> <sup>1242</sup> <sup>1243</sup> <sup>1244</sup> <sup>1245</sup> <sup>1246</sup> <sup>1247</sup> <sup>1248</sup> <sup>1249</sup> <sup>1250</sup> <sup>1251</sup> <sup>1252</sup> <sup>1253</sup> <sup>1254</sup> <sup>1255</sup> <sup>1256</sup> <sup>1257</sup> <sup>1258</sup> <sup>1259</sup> <sup>1260</sup> <sup>1261</sup> <sup>1262</sup> <sup>1263</sup> <sup>1264</sup> <sup>1265</sup> <sup>1266</sup> <sup>1267</sup> <sup>1268</sup> <sup>1269</sup> <sup>1270</sup> <sup>1271</sup> <sup>1272</sup> <sup>1273</sup> <sup>1274</sup> <sup>1275</sup> <sup>1276</sup> <sup>1277</sup> <sup>1278</sup> <sup>1279</sup> <sup>1280</sup> <sup>1281</sup> <sup>1282</sup> <sup>1283</sup> <sup>1284</sup> <sup>1285</sup> <sup>1286</sup> <sup>1287</sup> <sup>1288</sup> <sup>1289</sup> <sup>1290</sup> <sup>1291</sup> <sup>1292</sup> <sup>1293</sup> <sup>1294</sup> <sup>1295</sup> <sup>1296</sup> <sup>1297</sup> <sup>1298</sup> <sup>1299</sup> <sup>1300</sup> <sup>1301</sup> <sup>1302</sup> <sup>1303</sup> <sup>1304</sup> <sup>1305</sup> <sup>1306</sup> <sup>1307</sup> <sup>1308</sup> <sup>1309</sup> <sup>1310</sup> <sup>1311</sup> <sup>1312</sup> <sup>1313</sup> <sup>1314</sup> <sup>1315</sup> <sup>1316</sup> <sup>1317</sup> <sup>1318</sup> <sup>1319</sup> <sup>1320</sup> <sup>1321</sup> <sup>1322</sup> <sup>1323</sup> <sup>1324</sup> <sup>1325</sup> <sup>1326</sup> <sup>1327</sup> <sup>1328</sup> <sup>1329</sup> <sup>1</sup>

or Islam made the Muslim population of Egypt very sensitive. This sensitiveness of the people was brought to the force by the formation of 'Idhwan-Muslimun' in 1928. The Idhwan had only one goal before them and it was to revive the Islamic values among the people, their protection and subduing secularist trend which had posed a real threat to these values. Increased public sensitiveness in this direction made the Idhwan a potential force to be reckoned with. Many modernist writers tried to break the momentum of this movement by writings books on Islam from their own angle. 'Al 'Aqqad's 'Abqariyat series on Muslim heroes was an endeavour of its first kind in this direction. The most important landmark was established by the publication of 'Hayat Muhammad' written by the most celebrated author and journalist of the Arab world, Mohammad Husayn Haykal. Naturally Taha Husayn followed the suit and wrote books with Islamic themes. Though the setting of the books and the material included in them was chiefly based on Jewish sources. It will be interesting to note that Taha Hussayn's books with Islamic themes were much criticised by eminent scholars, most of them being Mohammad H. Haykal and 'Abd-al-'Aziz Jawish, who was at one stage very affectionate to Taha Hussayn and the main figure, who put in his mind the idea to go to France for further studies. Taha Hussayn's book with Islamic theme is on the biography of Prophet Mohammad entitled 'Ala Faris al-Sirah' (On the margin of the prophet's Biography) the first volume of which he published in 1933. Two more volumes of the book were published in 1942 and 1943. With Greek mythology in mind Taha Hussayn sought to present the legends and semi-Historical events in this book.

In 1934, the government of Sidiqi Pasha was out of office and a new ministry, headed by Nasim Pasha, was formed. Taha Hussayn was requested to return

---

1. Assad-N. Rasul: PP: 273-277.

2. Kermit Schoonover: PP: 363. 3. Anwar-al-Jundi: al-Muharikah: PP: 398. 4. Ibid: PP: 398

5. ~~Rizvi~~ Raja' al-Maqasid: PP: 27

6. Assad-N. Rasul: PP: 261-262.

7. Kermit Schoonover: PP: 363.

to the University in the capacity of the professor of Arabic Literature, <sup>8.8</sup> which he accepted. As such, he resumed his lectures in the University after they had been discontinued since March, 1932, when he was dismissed from the government services. <sup>41-</sup>

The election of 1936, held under the revived constitution of 1932, was won by 'Wafd' by an overwhelming majority. Nakhās Pāshā was the new Prime Minister. This government lasted upto 1938, when it was removed from the office as a result of street fighting between Blue Shirts and Green Shirts. The clashes were caused by the signing of the 1936 Treaty between Britain and Nakhās Pāshā as the leader of Wafd. The signing of this treaty entitled Egypt to the membership of the League of Nations, but made Egypt an ally of Britain much against the wishes of Sultan of Turkey, who was suzerian of Egypt and <sup>an</sup> ally of Germany. It will be seen that the term of Tāhā Husayn as Dean of the Faculty of Literature corresponded with the term of the 'Wafd' Ministry (i.e. May 1936 to May 1938). In 1939, he was again elected to the post, but ministry headed by 'Ismā'īl Mahmūd - a non Wafdist - did not endorse his election to the post and, as such, he had to content himself to serve as Professor. Towards the close of the year 1939, he was transferred to the Ministry of Education in the capacity of Technical Advisor. He held this post till February, 1942, during which he was asked to deliver lectures at the University as well.

'Wafd' returned to power on February 4, 1942 after that famous ultimatum served by the British Commander, Lord Wavell to the Egyptian King. With the return of 'Wafd' to power Tāhā Husayn became very active in government services. By 1944, he had combined the position of Technical Advisor to the Ministry of Education, Acting Rector of Fārūq University, member of Administrative Council of National Library, member of the Committee of Egyptian State Broadcasting and on Cultural Exchange and the Alexandria Municipal Commission. In addition, he was a member of

1. 'Abd-ul-Rehman Badwi: PP: Preface.

2. Ibid: PP: Preface.

3. Tom Little: PP: 89-90.

'Iqra' publications, President of the Egyptian Institute and Association of French Language Teachers.

By now, Taha Husayn had earned a considerable prestige both inside the country and outside it. In 1936, King Fu'ad had conferred upon him the Order of Nile, which carried with it the title of Sayyid. He was appointed a member of the Arab Scientific Academy of Beirut, corresponding member of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres of Paris, a member of the French Asiatic Society, an officer of the Legion d'Honneur and a Commander of the Order of Leopold. The University of Lyon conferred on him the degree of D.Lit. (Honoris Causa). By now, the Egyptian Renaissance had already attracted the attention of the West and many works of the Arabic Literature - including those of Taha Husayn - were being translated into foreign languages.

With the World War II coming to an end the Egyptians, at the national front, revived their call for complete independence. In order to press their demand, people came to the streets. The government of Nuhhas Pasha decided to crack down on Ikhwan al-Muslamin - the most powerful component of the Arabisation Movement. Ikhwan al-Muslamin had by now, more than half a million of enrolled followers. There was a bloody confrontation as a result of which Nuhhas Pasha's Ministry was removed from office. After a few days, on October 10, 1944, Taha Husayn resigned his government job and was wholly occupied with literary endeavours till January 13, 1950.

The period between 1932 to 1950, as we see, was of great turmoil for Taha Husayn. The repeated dismissals from the government service provided him with five years and some odd months of leisure, which he fully utilized for literary pursuits. The works of the period are many and, as such, all of them cannot be mentioned here.

Taha Husayn, after making a detailed survey of 'Abu al-'Ala' al-Ma'arri in Dhikr al-'Abi al-'Ala', turned to the subject again and wrote "Ma'a Abi al-'Ala' fi

1. Cachia: PP:62.

2. Ibid: PP:62-63.

"Sijmihi" in 1935 and "Sawt Abi al 'Ala'" in 1945. In this book he has given paraphrases of some of the difficult passages from 'Abu-al-'Ala'. His other work on literary and critical study includes Ma'rifat al-Shawqi (1933), Min Hadith al-Shir wa-al-Nathar (1936) and Ma'at al-Mutanabi (1936).

The publication of book "Mustaqbal al-Thaqifah Fi Misr" in 1938, in which he propounded a vast and detailed programme of reform, was productive of un-ending arguments and counter arguments regarding the feasibility of the ideas expressed in the book. The book call for complete Westernization, co-ordination of the Egyptian values with those of the Greek and adoption of ~~the~~ European Culture - all that was good or bad in it - were most objectionable to the vast majority of the Egyptians, who ~~not~~ viewed these ideas with suspicion.

Short stories and novels have also received Taha Husayn's attention. In 1935, he wrote 'Adib'. To many literary scholars 'Adib' is more an autobiography ~~not~~ of Taha Husayn than a fiction as they see close resemblance of facts and events recorded in the book to his life. But, ~~this view is not tenable any more, because Taha Husayn has himself explained that the "Scholar friend mentioned in the book is an actual person and not a fictitious one. To mention his name will not benefit the reader ... He was my classfellow at the University and sorbome. He was a very intelligent and of a distinguished personality. He verily deserved the description with which I have painted him. He first became mad. His illness continued~~ till he had a paralytic attack from which he could not survive. Towards the end of the book Taha Husayn says that a female friend of his companion presented him with a bundle of papers which ~~contained~~ contained a piece of literature of a very high rank. This Taha Husayn longed to publish any time in future provided the literary atmosphere of Egypt allowed it. When Taha Husayn was asked about these papers, ~~he~~

1. Anwar al-Jundi: al-Mu'arifah: PP: 397.

2. Firdaus Durrani: 'Ushrat al-Jilb' Mathahadathun: PP: 21.

boldly admitted that these papers were merely something imaginative which he himself wanted to write and ascribe them to his worthy friend. In fact this book is a story of a student, his passions and impressions of travels. It has been presented in a very lucid and absorbing style. This absorbing quality has been multiplied by the use of the choicest of the words. It can, as such, safely be put in the category of novels. In 1942, he wrote *al Hubb al Da'i* and then *Du'ā al Karawān* (1943), *Ahlām Shaharzād* (1943) and *Shajarat al Bu's* (1944).

He was very critical of the existing social order and the attitude of the authorities which seemed to be tyrannical to him. The books *Rihlat al-Rabi'* (1948), *Mir'at al-Damir al-Hadith*, *al-Mu'addabun Fi al-Arb* and *Jannah al-Hayawan* (1949) are vivid manifestation of this feeling. The publication of *al-Mu'addabun Fi al-Ard* was forbidden in Egypt and had to be published from Lebanon.

The Islamic theme also occupied the brain of Taha Husayn during this period and he wrote *'Alā Hamish al-Sirah* Volume II ( 1942 ), *'Alā Hamish al-Sirah* Volume III ( 1943 ), a detailed study of 'Uthman ( 1947 ) and life sketches of some Sahabah and an account of the miseries they had to undergo for their faith under the title "al Wa'd al-Haq" (1950).

During this period Taha Husayn received a number of marks of recognition from abroad. A Degree of Doctorate was conferred on him by the University of Montpellier in 1946, in 1949 his name was put forward for the award of Nobel Prize in Literature. In 1950, he received honorary doctorate from Rome, Oxford University bestowed on him the honorary degree of D.Lit and in 1950 he was

---

1. *Wa'd al-Damir*: *'Ashrat al-Udaba'* Yattahadathun: 22:21.

installed as a member of 'Real Academia de La Historia' of Spain.

His works in this period were distinctly pregnant with almost only one theme → a desire for constant struggle against the oppressive attitude of the authorities and this he has himself admitted in an article published under the <sup>-2-</sup> ~~same~~ title Wizārat al-Mazālīm in al-Ahrām of January 11, 1950. This is why ~~xxx~~ that the then Prime Minister Sirī Pāshā openly opposed his nomination to the post of president of journalist Union. But, when in the election of 1950, Wafd swept the polls, Tāhā Hūsayn was appointed Minister of Education on January 13, 1950. This appointment provided him with an opportunity to go ahead with his reformative move in the field of education, the out line of which he had provided in his book 'Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfah fī Misr'. He was keen to see his slogan, "Education is necessary for all ~~and~~ similarly as water~~xxx~~ and air are", translated into <sup>-3-</sup> reality. In fact he took many steps towards this end. In recognition of his services to the cause of Education he won for himself the vote of thanks from his colleagues in the Cabinet and, in 1952, King Fārūq bestowed on him the honour <sup>-4-</sup> of 'Bashā'. In January 1952, Cairo witnessed bitter riots in which clubs, Hotels, Cinemas, Foreigners' property and Army Clubs were reduced to ashes. The riots could not be controlled by Nahhās Pāshā's government and, as a result of it, it had to resign. With its resignation the term of Tāhā Hūsayn as minister of Education came <sup>-5-</sup> to an end on January 26, 1952.

During his term as Minister of Education he wrote Jannal al-Hayawān (1950)? Alwān and Bayn Bayn (1952).

Since January 20, 1952 to October 18, 1973, when Tāhā Hūsayn breathed his last, he was actively engaged in studying and presenting to the world, the results

1. Cachia: PP: 64.      2. Ibid: PP: 65.

3. 'Abd-al-Rehman Badwī: PP: Preface.      4. Cachia: PP: 65.

5. 'Abd-al-Rehman Badwī: Preface.

of his study in the form of articles and books. He was appointed member of many of the literary committees, as such <sup>24</sup> 'Majma' al-Lughat al-'Arabiyyah of Cairo, al-Majlis al-'Ala li 'Ll Fanūn wa-al-'Adab Wa-al-'Ulūm al-'Ijtima'iyyah, al-'Ijtima' al-Misri and a ~~very~~ number of such committees in foreign countries. Many Universities in the world, including Madrid and Oxford, bestowed upon him the honor, <sup>-1-</sup> degree of Doctorate. <sup>-2-</sup> In March, 1951 the University of Athens awarded him one more degree of Doctorate.

During this period, Fihā Husayn extensively wrote on various subjects of his interest. On Islam and Muslim History he wrote 'Alī Wa Banah' (1953), 'Mir'at al-Islām' (1959) and 'al-Shaykhān' (1960). He wrote many literary and critical essays which were, later, collected and published in book form. These books are, 'Sharh Lazūm Ma Lā Yalzam Li 'Abī-al-Shaykh al-Arri' (1955), 'Risām Wasal Naqd' (1955), 'Naqd Wa Islāh' (1956), 'Min Adhibā-al-Ulu al-Asi' (1958) and 'Ahādith' (1959). Among other books include those of fiction, drama (translated) and personal account. 'Min Humāk' (1955), 'Rihāb-al-Rabi' Wa-al-Saif' (1959), 'Min Adab Tamthil-al-Garabi' (1959) and 'Muzakirāt' (1967) are most important of them.

\*. 'Abd-ul-Behmān Ḍilwī: Preface

2. Jachnia: 65.



CHAPTER II PART II

AN APPRAISAL OF TĀHĀ HUSĀYR'S INTERNATIONAL

To give an account of the life of ~~the~~ Tāhā Husāyir, his achievements and failures, it is necessary to throw some light on the events which shaped future course of his life. These events were responsible for making an introvert of him and helped him to overcome, to a great extent, his infirmity, though he could not conquer it completely. By dint of his hard work, bold stand and extra-ordinary courage to face calamities, could achieve, for himself, a position in the fields of literature, politics and scholarship which, by all standards, can, no doubt, be called admirable.

Perhaps, the most important factor which shaped the future course of his life was the infirmity caused by blindness at a tender age of three. We see him complaining against society and ignorance of the people around him - particularly that of the woman - which, above all, was the main cause of his suffering caused by this handicap and formed most of the traits of his personality.

Being a genius, he devised the measures to compensate for the infirmity. No longer would he take that food which compelled him to use spoon. He decided to take food only when he was all alone and this habit lasted with him till his wife prevailed upon him to give it up. He inculcated the practice to endure every hardship silently lest he may be ridiculed, since his mother, while pouring irritant ointment in his dark eyes in the hope to cure them of infection, would put his head between her knees and young Tāhā would not weep though it caused great pain to his eyes, because he hated to be like his young sister, plaintive and x tearful.

1. Al-Ayyār: I: 120.

2. Ibid: FF: 20.

3. Ibid: I: 20-21.

4. Ibid: PP: 22.

5. Ibid: PP: 6.

Tāhā Husayn has very vividly given an account of the procession which  
 used to be taken out every year in the nearby town of Magāḡah on the birthday  
 of the Prophet. In this procession his Azharite brother used to be centre of  
 attention. He was made to ride a well decorated horse specially meant for this  
 occasion. Tāhā Husayn fully remembers the joy it gave to his father and the  
 excitement it aroused in the family. <sup>-1-</sup> He harboured, in his heart, the ambition to  
 replace his brother after his return from al-Azhar. After spending one year ~~at~~  
 at al-Azhar, when he returns to his village, he is not received as he was expected  
 and the manner in which the village people met him after one year's absence  
 could not make him feel that his status had been elevated. He gets enraged and  
~~starts~~ starts opposing the wrong beliefs about intercession and boldly  
<sup>-2-</sup> declares that prevalent Sufi practices were a form of idolatry. He keeps the  
 town's people busy talking and thinking about him and is satisfied that he has  
 avenged for being neglected. Commenting on it he says of him self in al-Ayyām,  
 his autobiography, which he has written in third form, "His status in the  
 family changed; no longer did his father neglect him; no longer did his mother  
 and brothers turn their ~~backs~~ backs on him; and no longer was the relationship  
<sup>-3-</sup> between them based on pity, but something more respectful". This sense of vanity  
 dominated his whole life. About his writings he boldly says, "I do not write a  
 fiction or a story to subject it to the strict principles of art; I write it for  
 the sake of the ~~story~~ story; because I do not believe in those principles . . . . .  
 I do not recognise the right or ~~merit~~ merit of any critic <sup>(of)</sup> <sup>so</sup> however, high scholarship  
 he may be, to subject my writings to criticism. One who wants to read it, ~~may~~ may  
<sup>-4-</sup> read it and one who feels bored by it, may not. ~~read~~ This vanity is emphatically.

1. Al-Ayyām: I: PP: 67-72.

2. Al-Ayyām: II: PP: 123.

3. Ibid: PP: 128.

4. Al-Mu'adhdhubūn 14- 1- ar: PP: Preface.

manifest in his assertion that he likes ~~writing~~ nothing more than being criticised, because those who criticise him know very little of his defects while he knows much of himself. He further adds, " I know that among those who dis-  
~~approve~~ approve of me and criticise me there are some who ~~will~~ will find themselves at a loss to understand it when they read it. For they ~~write~~ write in order to hurt me; but what if I ~~swear~~ swear to ~~them~~ them is that they are doing me good and I  
 strenuously ~~beseech~~ beseech them to criticise, defend and blame me all the more".  
 -1-

He is not given to acknowledge his failures. In his boyhood ~~he~~ he, somehow or the other, heard about ~~Ji~~ Jinns and the devices with which they could be controlled by a human being. He took it on himself to control a Jinn and, as a result, he spent many nights working on the devices but failed to make contact with any Jinn. But when asked, he would wrongly assert that he had succeeded in having a  
 -2-  
 contact with a Jinn and had actually seen him - All ~~for~~ for the sake of serving his pride and vanity.

The hatred for the prevalent system of education gets nurtured in the heart of Tāhā Husayn even when he was at a 'Kuttāb' with 'Saiyidīnā' who would entrust his pupils to the class Monitor and who, in his own turn, would report favourably about the pupil to 'Saiyidīnā' only if he could be pleased by the pupil. His favour could be gained by giving him a piece of Chocolate, a bread or, at times, by praising him for such tasks of which he was unworthy. Later, when Tāhā Husayn was also given some responsibility in the class he shared the experience  
 -3-  
 with the class Monitor and devised a formula which was more fool proof. Shallowness in the character of 'Saiyidīnā', who swore repeatedly before Tāhā Husayn's father that he had paid regular attention to his child and had made him to read in his presence, while actually he had not, was chiefly responsible for making

---

1. Min Hadith al-Shi'r Wa-al-Nathr; PP:6.

2. al-Nathr; I: PP: 97-111.

3. Ibid: PP: 45-55.

Abū Ḥassayn to wonder whether he (and for that matter persons like him) believed in the sanctity of the things he had sworn of, if the developed in him deep rooted sense of doubt which got manifested in his later behaviour at al-Ashar and in those bitter wranglings which he had with the Shaykh of al-Ashar.

He was very much aware of the infirmity and the limitations which it had caused him. When, in 1930, he ~~was~~ was in Paris to attend the History Congress being held there, he gave a sensual description of the beauty of Paris and its adjoining areas but could not help to add, "I might wish to tell you about the monuments and art treasures there are in this city, but I am incapable of doing so" and I dare say that ~~you~~ you are not ~~unaware~~ unaware of the cause of this incapacity. But he would, if he could, never allow any ~~one~~ one to spell out this incapacity. When he was to attend entrance test at al-Ashar and the examiner pointed at him and said, "You next, blind boy", these words singling him out and belittling him, replaced his apprehensions with the ever present feelings of dread and bitterness. This he would not allow for himself. No doubt, for writing he uses the word qāṭ (I dictate), but when coming to reading he says aqra', (I read) which denotes a process involving both tongue and eyes. This is what can be said from the psychological point of view, his conscious attempt to compensate for the infirmity.

One more factor was added by the study of the writings of Abū-al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī whom he had tried to emulate since a very early stage of his life. When his father had, though with a heavy heart, corrected him for taking food with both of his hands instead of one, he took it to his heart and remembered the solution al-Maʿarrī had thought of it when he also, after tasting some honey, said

Ḥaṭṭ al-ḥam: I: II: 104-24

24ḥḥ. Baṭṭ: I: 107-110

Ḥaṭṭ al-ḥam: II: PP: 101-102

been criticized by one of his pupils about a drop of it which had fallen on his chest. It touched his 'self' and from thereon, 'Abu-al-'Ala' would take meals all alone in a separate room. 'Ala' has day. decided to follow his suit. He decided to follow him in his philosophy of seclusion and in not marrying because, "The place which a blind man holds in the heart of wife and children is less exalted than that of one who sees; their respect for him is limited and their obedience restricted to the matters of which he happens to be mindful &....." ~~Despair~~  
 Despair is, therefore, better suited to him than hope and death, preferable to life except that has an excess of the virtue of patience and steadfastness. "Although in his later life, we see a change in this thinking which was mainly caused by the company of his wife, Suzanne, and by the higher positions he held in the society, yet these traits cannot be said to have been missing totally."

A sceptic and pessimist, Taha Hussayn, enraged by the treatment he met at the hands of the Shaykh of al-Azhar, on coming in contact with orientalists like Nallino, Grail, Sartillana, Leitman and G. Bloch, the course of ~~his~~ his thinking was changed. Then he went to Paris on the Educational Mission and remained there from 1914 to 1917. During this period he came in contact with reputed orientalists and studied a number of modern subjects. This had a deepening effect on the ideas already acquired by him. Furthermore, during this period world War I was fought and Russian Revolution of 1917 had taken place. He had an opportunity to study closely the effects of both these events and they, undoubtedly, had left a deep effect on his thinking. At home Revolution of 1921 took place which had an effect of accelerating the pace of National Movement. Though Taha Hussayn always sided with the moderates, yet he could not escape the effects of the National Movement.

1.41-Aryam:Vol:I;PP:20-21

2. Rajditi Diti's Animal: 11:120-121

The intellectual junk of Descart filled his mind with doubt regarding the genuineness of all that was established and encouraged him to express himself without reservation or fear of reaction. French Culture and study of Ancient Greek & Roman Civilisation had very deep effect on his mind. He remained, throughout his life, a vociferous proponent of European Culture and of shaping Egypt on the French pattern. He was the band master of pipers, who sing songs of European Civilisation and that of France in particular. He says about Paris, " I love Paris, I believe that it is the most sacred place in the modern world. (IN France) I live in freedom, think freely, walk freely, love life, cherish it and desire extension in it". The idea expressed would not have been commendable had he not forgotten that the absence of these liberties in Egypt was mainly due to the Colonialistic designs of European powers in which France was a party. He says about France, " What in France absorbs and fascinates me and what makes it love-able to me? Everything in France pleases and that fascinates me; everything good and bad of France; everything pleasant and unpleasant of France and everything of its prosperity and backwardness. All this pleases me and my heart only rests confidently on all this." Anwar al-Jundi wrote al-Taha Husayn that he spent more than thirty seven years of his literary career (1918-1955) without once criticising French behaviour during the resistance movements against France in North Africa, Syria and Lebanon. The only criticism which he escaped during this period was directed against Italians in 1935 when he denounced Fascism. However, in 1956, when France, Britain and Israel jointly attacked Egypt on the issue of the nationalisation of Suez Canal, Taha Husayn did criticise these powers severely and his articles were published in a book entitled al-Udman al-

1. Min Ba'id: PP: 178.

2. Quoted by Anwar al-Jundi: Al-Muhafizah: PP: 401.

3. Ibid: PP: 402.

4. Ihlat-al-Rabi: PP: 20-21.

Thalathi The book is an assembly of such articles by different authors. The activities of Taha Hussayn were for him the nick name 'Extra ordinary French Diplomat in Egypt' (Sawir Fawq al-'Adah Li Fransa Fir Misr) &

In 1908, when Taha Hussayn was in the 19th year of his age and when his literary life had just begun there were two major political parties in Egypt (1) Hizb al-Ummah and Hizb al-Watani. The former was a creation of Lord Cromer and came into existence in 1907 <sup>-1-</sup> where as the latter was a true <sup>-2-</sup> representative of the ~~people~~ people. Hizb al-Ummah was an assembly of wealthy and powerful section of the society and <sup>-3-</sup> Hizb al-Watani was champion of the cause <sup>-4-</sup> of the weaker sections. The former wanted to base the Egyptian society on the European model and tried its best for its Westernisation by propounding western values. The latter, on the other hand, wanted Islam and Islamic values to form such a base. Hizb al-Ummah was in favour of close relations and co-ordination with Britain while as Hizb al-Watani was deadly against the existence of the British. There was a third political ~~party~~ party, 'al-Hizb al-Istiqlali al-Misri', which was in favour of full assistance to Britain.

As such, it seems while the conditions were fit for Taha Hussayn to join Hizb al-Watani, strangely enough he joined the Hizb al-Ummah of which he remained a member till 1922. Then he ~~joined~~ joined a more moderate group, Liberal Constitutional Party, which held the view that close association with Britain and moderate policies in politics might win for them greater concessions. The party was a break away group of Wafd. Taha Hussayn began to contribute his articles to 'al-Siyasah', the mouth organ of Liberal Constitutional Party. The journal was edited by a great journalist of the Arab world, Mohammad Hussayn Haykal.

1. Raj-ul-Magharib: 1: 304

2. TM: 1: 254

3. TM: 1: 25-26

4. TM: 1: 26

5. TM: 1: 27

6. TM: 1: 28

7. TM: 1: 29

8. TM: 1: 33

In 1930, Ismā'īl Ḥusayn framed 'Hizb al-Sha'abi', which was taken to be a threat for National Movement by Wafdists and Liberal Constitutionalists alike. This forced them to come closer and forget, for time being, Mutual bitterness. In 1932, Tahā Ḥusayn was dismissed from government service by Sīdī Pashā and he confined his political activities to writing as a weekly in 'al-Balagh'. In 1933, he was asked by Nahās Pashā, leader of 'Wafd', to edit the party journal, 'Kawkab al-Sharq', which he accepted. This marked the beginning of his formal relationship with 'Wafd' which continued for many years to come and he served as Minister of Education from 1950 to 1952 in the last Wafd government.

\*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\*



---

### WORKS

---

The literary career of Taha Hussein began as early as 1907, when he intended to publish his first article in 'al-Risalah'. An article was loaded with heavy criticisms against Ashar, its traditions and in particular, against the arbitrary authority of the then Rector of Dar-al-'Ulum al-Ashar - Shaykh Salim al-Buhārī. Its publication was refused by Ahmad Lutfi Saiyid - the editor of 'al-Jarīdah'. Anyhow, his literary career gained its bloom in 1913, when he shared Ahmad Lutfi's views on 'Egypt for Egyptians' in articles which he contributed to al-Risalah during this period. But his literary career began formally in 1914, when he submitted his thesis entitled 'Ḥikma Abi-L-ʿAlā' to the Egyptian University for the degree of Ph.D. It was accepted and was published by him in the ensuing year. From there on his literary career bloomed to its full. To complete our study of his life and works we shall give a comprehensive list, as far as possible, of the books he wrote and the books which were written on him. The first date of publication of these books is given, as far as possible, to ascertain in order to have an idea of his busy literary life it seems desirable to arrange the list chronologically instead of alphabetically.

- 1914 : Ḥikma Abi-al-ʿAlā : (Critical study of al-Maʿarri) Doctoral dissertation presented to the Egyptian University in 1914. First published in Matbaʿat al-Waṭiʿ, Cairo (1915)
- 1917 : ʿEtude Analytique et Critique de La Philosophie Sociale d' Ibn Khaldun : Doctoral dissertation presented to University of Paris, 1917. Published only in Arabic translation by Mohammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInʿām as Falsafat Ibn Khaldun al-Ijtimaʿiyyah published in Matbaʿat ʿAl Iʿtimād, Cairo (1925).

- 1919:- As-Zahrah al-Diniyah al-Shi'ar al-Yunan Wa Tatawwur al-Aliyah Wa At-Tarikh  
Fil Madaniyah: Published as appendix to the book Aliyah al-Yunan and  
published in Matba'at al-Manar, Cairo (1919).
- 1919-1924:- Darus at Tarikh al-Qadim Fil Jami'ah al-Misriyah: Collection of a  
series of lectures delivered by him in the University in the capacity  
of a Professor of Ancient Greek and Roman History. Some of them  
were published in Sahifah al-Jami'ah al-Misriyah during 1919-1924.
- 1920:- Shi'ar Mughtarrah Min al-Shi'ar at Jahiliyyah al-Yunan: Translation  
of selected poems from Aeschylus and Sophocles. Published by Matba'at  
al-Hilal, Cairo (1920).
- 1920-1921:- Al-Hikm Wajib, four Volumes: Translation of Simon Jules: in collaboration  
with Mohammad Ramadan. Published in Matba'at al-Taridah, Cairo (1920-21).
- 1921:- Nizam al-Athiniyyin: Translation of Aristotle: Published in Matba'at al-  
Hilal, Cairo (1921) (Translation of Constitution of Athens).  
Kitab at-Tarbiyah: Translation of Le Bon Gustave's psychologic de l'  
Education: Published in Matba'at al-Hilal, Cairo (1921).
- 1924:- Qisas Tamthiliyyah Li Jama'ah min ash-hur al-Kuttab al-Faransiyyin:  
(Summaries and Critique of modern French plays previously published in  
al-Hilal) Matba'at at-Tijariyah, Cairo (1924).
- 1925:- Qadat al-Fil: (Survey of human thought) Matba'at al-Hilal, Cairo (1925).
- 1925-1926: Hadith al-Arba'a: (Critical analysis and paraphrases of Jahili, Umayyad  
and early Abbasid poetry published in weekly Calamus of al-Sijasa,  
earliest of them appearing in 1922) Volume I: Matba'at at-Tajariyah, Kutb:  
Cairo (1925) Vol: II: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyah, Cairo (1926) Volume III:  
Dar al-  
Dar al-Mu'tarif, Cairo (1957).
- 1926 :- Fi al-Shi'ar al-Jahili: Critical analysis of the Pre-Islamic poetry. This  
book generated a storm of violent protests and was, as a result, confiscated  
Published in Matba'at al-Dar al-Kitab al-Misriyah, Cairo (1926).

- 1927:- *Fil Adab al-Jahili*: (Reissue of *Fil al-Shi'r al-Jahili* with some additions and extractions) Published in Matba'at al-'Itimad, Cairo (1927).
- 1928:- *Fil al-Sayf*: Collection of essays. It was published by Matba'at al-Hilal, Cairo (1928). It was later reprinted in *Rehlat al-Rabi' wa-al-Sayf*.
- 1929:- *Al-Ayyam*: Volume II (autobiography), a collection of series of articles published in *al-Hilal* from December, 1926 to July, 1927. Published in Matba'at Amin 'Abd al-Rahman, Cairo (1929).
- 1930:- *Al-Mujmal fi Tarikh al-'Adab al-'Arabi*: (School text) Collaboration: Ahmad al-'Iskandari, Ahmad Amin, 'Ali al-Jawin, 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Bishri, Ahmad Dayf: Published in al-Matba'at al-'Amiriyah, Cairo (1930).
- 1931:- *Al-Muntakhab Min Adab-al-'Arabi*: (School Anthology) Collaboration: Ahmad al-'Iskandari, 'Ali al-Jawin, 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Bishri, Ahmad Dayf: Published by Dar-al-Kutub al-Misriyah, Cairo (1931).
- 1932:- "Le Rapport entre La Rh'etorique Arabe et la Rh'etorique Grecque": Article contributed to Congress International des Orientalists, Liden, (1932).
- 1933:- *Hariz Wa Shawq*: Critical essays: Matba'at al-'Itimad, Cairo (1933).  
 : *Al-Hamih al-Sirah*: Volume I: (Biography of the Prophet) al-Matba'at al-Rahmaniyyah, Cairo (1933).  
 : *Maqd Nathar Id Qudamah Ibn Ja'far*: Collaboration; 'Abd-al-Hamid al-'Ibadi: Matba'at Dar-al-Kutub Misriyah, Cairo (1933).
- 1934:- *Du'a al-Karawan*: (Novel) Has been published a number of times.
- 1935:- *Min Ba'id*: Collection of articles written in Europe between 1923 and 1930 published in Matba'at al-Rahmaniyyah, Cairo (1935).  
 : *Adib* (NOVEL): Matba'at al-'Itimad, Cairo (1935).  
 : *Al-Hayat al-Adabiyah fi Jazirat-al-'Arab*: Matba'at al-Nashr al-'Arabi: Damascus: 1935. This booklet has been reprinted in 'Alawin' in 1958.

- : Ma' 'Abi-L 'Alā fī Sijr<sup>ah</sup> al-Ma'arī: Dār-al-Ma'arīf, Cairo (1935).
- : Andrunak Lirāsīn: Translation of Racine Jean: Published in Matba'at al-Andriyah, Cairo (1935).
- 1936:- Min Hadith Shi' W-al-Nathar: Lectures delivered during 1930-33: Published in Matba'at al-Sawī, Cairo (1936).
- 1937:- Al-Qasr al-Mashūr: (Novel) Collaboration; Tawfiq al-Hakīm: Published in Dār al-Nashr al-Hadīth, Cairo (1937).
- : Tajdīd Dhikrā Abi-L-'Alā': Published in Dār-al-Ma'arīf, Cairo (1937).
- : Ma' al Muttanabī: (2 Volume): Criticism: Lujnat al-Talīf W-al-Tarjumah W-al-Nashr, Cairo (1936-37).
- 1937-38:- Al-Hubb al-Dā'i: (Novels and seven short stories): Serially published in al-Radiū al-Misri during 1937-38 and then published in book form as Iqrā' series No: 100 by Dār-al-Ma'arīf, Cairo (1951).
- 1938:- Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfah fī Misr: (2 volumes): Educational Programme for Egypt: Dār-al-Ma'arīf, Cairo (1938).
- 1939:- Min-al-Adab al-Tawhīdī al-Funāwī: Translation of sophocles dramas Electra, Aja, Antigone, Oedipus, Rex: Published by Lujnat al-Talīf W-al-Tarjumah W-al-Nashr, Cairo (1939).
- 1940:- Al-Sayyām: Volume II: (autobiography): Dār-al-Ma'arīf, Cairo (1939).
- 1941:- Al-Tawjīh al-Adabī: (School Text) Collaboration: Ahmad Amin, 'Abd-al-Wahhāb al-'Azzām, Mohammad 'Awad: Published by Lujnat al-Talīf W-al-Tarjumah W-al-Nashr, Cairo (1941).
- : Ath-Thaqāfah al-Injilīziyah Wa Athruha fī Taqaddum al-'Amm al-Hayāt W-al-Harakah al-Fikriyah fī Britāniyah: Lectures delivered under the auspices of the Anglo-Egyptian Union, 1941.
- : Kalīlah Wa Dimnah: of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muqaffa: Edited & in collaboration with 'Abd-al-Wahhāb 'Azzām: Dār-al-Ma'arīf, Cairo (1941).

- 1942:- Lehzat: (2 volumes): Collected essays mostly about French literature which first appeared between 1922-1924: Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1942).  
 : Alā Ḥamīsh al-Sīrah: Vol: II: Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1942).
- 1943:- Alā Ḥamīsh al-Sīrah: Vol: II: Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1943).  
 : Sawt Bērīs: (2 Vol): An account of French plays, originally published between 1924-1927: Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1943).  
 : Modern Egypt: Contributed to Book 'Islam Today' edited by A. J. Arberry and R. M. London, (1943).  
 : Ahlām Shāharzāī: (Novel) No: I of 'Qurā' series: Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1943).
- 1944:- Shajarat al-Ba's: (Novel) Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1944).  
 : Āṭhar Abī L-'Alā' al-Ma'arri: Edited in collaboration with the Ministry of Education: Dār-al-Kutub al-Misriyah, Cairo (1944).
- 1945:- Jamnat at-Shawk: (Epigrams) Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1945).  
 : Faṣāl fī al-Adab W-al-Naqd: (Essays): Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1945).  
 : Sawt Abī L-'Alā' al-Ma'arri: (On al-Ma'arri): Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1945).
- 1946:- Uḏīb -Thīsyūs: Translation of Andre' Gide's Oedipe Thésée: al-Kātib al-Misri, Cairo (1946).
- 1947:- 'Uḥḥūn: Vol: I of Al-Fitnat-al-Kubrā: Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1947).  
 : Zādīj aw-al-Qadar: Translation of Voltaire's Zadig ou La Destinée: al-Kātib-al-Misri, Cairo (1947).  
 : Tendances Religieuses de La littérature Egyptienne d' Aujourd'Hui: Contributed to L'Islām et L Occident 6th Cahiers du Sud, (1947).
- 1948:- Iḥlāt-al-ḥāl: Depressions and meditations during an European trip: Dār-al-Ma'ārif, Cairo (1948).  
 : Al-Mu'adhabūn fī al-'Arḍ: Short Stories and essays concerned with economic inequality: Published separately in al-Kātib-al-Misri, (1948-1949), then in a book form in al-Maktabah al-'Asriyah, Sidon (1949).

- 1949:- Mir'at ad-Damir al-Hadith: (Social essays and sketches): <sup>107</sup> Dar al-  
 'Ilm li al-Malayin, Beirut (1949).
- : Al-Mutala'at al-'Arabiyyah: Composed by Ibrahim Mustafa, Muhammad  
 'Atiyah al-Ibrashi, 'Abd-al-Majid al-Shafi'i, 'Abd-al-Wahhab 'Azzam,  
 Hamid 'Abi-al-Qadir, Revised by Taha Hussayn, Ahmad Amin, Muhammad Ahmad  
 Jad al-Hawi, (1949).
- 1950:- Al-Wa'd al-Haqq: Stories of early Muslim Martyrs: Dar al-Mu'arif, Cairo (1950)
- : Jannat al-Hawiyah: Satirical sketches and short ~~xxx xxxxxxx~~  
 narratives: Matabi' Joridah al-Misri, Cairo (1950).
- 1952:- Al-'an: Collected essays: Dar al-Mu'arif, Cairo (1952).
- : Bayn Bayn: Collected essays originally written between 1935-1947: Dar-  
 al-'Ilm li al-Malayin, Beirut (1952).
- 1953:- 'Alf wa Banuh: Vol: II of al-Fitnat al-Kubra: Dar al-Mu'arif, Cairo (1953)
- : Nafus li al-Bay': a reissue of Mir'at al-Damir al-Hadith: ~~Sharikat-at-~~  
 Tawfiq; al-Misriyah, Cairo (1953).
- 1955:- Sharih Lazim Ma La Yalzam Li 'Abi 'Ala al-Ma'arri: Edited and paraph-  
 rased in colloberation with Ibrahim al-Ibyari only Vol: I: appeared:  
 Dar al-Mu'arif, Cairo (1955).
- : Min Humak: a reissue of Sat Baris: Raud al-Yusuf, Cairo (1955).
- : Khisam w-al-Naqd: Collected articles: Dar al-'Ilm li al-Malayin,  
 Beirut (1955).
- : Fusul Mukhtarat Min Kutub al-Tarikh: (3 Vol): Composed in colloberation  
 with 'Abd-al-Salim Harun, 'Ali al-Bijawi and Ibrahim al-Ibyari: Vol: I:  
 Matba'at Muhammad 'Atif (1955), Vol: II: al-Matba'at al-Misriyah (1957)  
 and Vol: III: Dar al-'Ibā'at al-Hadith.
- 1956:- Naqd wa Tashreeh Islah: review articles and part of Palestine with Ash-rifa  
 authorities contributed to al-Jumhuriyah: Dar al-'Ilm li al-Malayin,  
 Beirut (1956).

- 1957 :- Rihlat-ar-Rabi' w-al-Sayf: Combines fi al-Sayf and Rihlat-al-Rabi': Dar-al-'Ilm li al-Malayin, Beirut (1957).
- 1958 :- Min Adabina al-Mu'asir: review articles previously published in al-Ahram and al-Jamhuriyah: Matba'at al-Sharikah al-'Arabiyyah li al-Taba' w al-Nashr, Cairo (1958).
- 1959 :- Mir'at al-Islam: Modernistic survey of Islam: Dar-al-Ma'arif, Cairo (1959).
- : Min Laghw as-Sayf: Dar-al-'Ilm li al-Malayin, Beirut (1959).
- : Min Adab at-Tarikh li al-Qarabi: Dar-al-'Ilm li al-Malayin, Beirut (1959).
- : al-Ahadith: Collected articles: Dar-al-'Ilm li al-Malayin, Beirut (1959).
- 1960 :- Al-Sayyidhan: Life of, Abu Bekr and Umar: Dar-al-Ma'arif, Cairo (1960).
- 1961 :- Min Laghw al-Sayf wa Jadd al-Shi'ta': Collected articles: al-Sharikah al-'Arabiyyah li al-Tibba'ah w al-Nashr, Cairo (1961).
- 1967 :- Mudhakirāt: (autobiography) Dar-al-Fadab, Beirut (1967).

1. Mohammad al-Khidar Hussayn : Naql al-Shi'ʿ al-Jāhili.
2. Mohammad Farīd Wajdi. : Naqd al-Shi'ʿ al-Jāhili.
3. Mustafā Sādiq ar-Rafaʿi. : Taht Rayāt al-Qurʾān.
4. Mohammad Hussayn. : Al-Shi'ʿ al-Jāhili wa al-Radd ʿAlayhā.
5. Mohammad al-Khudari. : Muhadarāt Fī Bayʿn al-Akhṭāʾ al-ʿIlmiyah  
wa al-Tarīkhiyah allatī Ishtamala ʿalayhā.  
Kitāb Fī al-Shi'ʿ al-Jāhili.
6. Mohammad Lutfi Jumʿah. : Al-Shihāb al-Rashid.
7. Mohammad Ahmad al-Gamrawi : Al-Naql al-Tahlili li Kitāb Fī al-Adab  
al-Jāhili:1929.
8. Mohammad ʿAbd-al-Qādir : Muhakamat al Zaman aw Tāhā Hussayn  
ʿan Nahdah:1942.
9. Raymond Francis : Tāhā Hussein Romancier:Maʿarif:1945.
10. Pjerre Cachia : Tāhā Hussayn:His place in the Egyptian  
Literary Renaissance:London:Jarac:1956.
11. Samī al-Kiyālī : Maʿ Tāhā Hussayn:Dār-al-Maʿarif,Cairo:  
1951.
12. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Badwī : Tāhā Hussayn Fī ʿIlm al-Milādhi al-  
Sabʿin:(Edited) Dār-al-Maʿarif,Cairo:  
1962.
13. Mohammad Saiyid Kilārī : Tāhā Hussayn al-Shaʿir al-Kātib:Dār-al-  
Qawāyah-al-ʿArabiyah:1963.
14. Mohammad ʿUmar Tawfiq. : Tāhā Hussayn Wa al-Shayṭān:Maktabat  
al-Maʿarif:Beirut:1963.
15. Tāhā Hussein : Fuggio degli Arabisti Italiani:Vaplen:  
1964.
16. Al-Hilāl (Dār) : Tāhā Hussayn Kamā Yaʿrifuhu Kuttāb  
ʿAsrihi:Dār-al-Hilāl:1968.



17. Kāmil Thabāt Qaltuh : Tāhā Hussayn wa Athar al-Thaqāfah-al-Faransiyyah  
Fī Adabihi: Ma'arif: 1972.
18. Khayrī Shalahī : Muḥ. wa Tāhā Hussayn: Al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiya  
Id al-Dīrāsāt wa Nashar: Beirut: 1972.
19. Kamāl al-Malik : al-Daktūr Tāhā Hussayn Qāhir al-Zalām: Dār-al-  
Kitāb-al-Jadīd: 1973.
20. Calī Shattī. : Māsā Yabqī Min Tāhā Hussayn: Beirut: 1974.
21. Hamīlī Sukrī. : Tāhā Hussayn (Series No: 1, Kitāb A'lām-al-Adab  
al-Mu'asir Fī Misr: Cairo: 1975.
22. Anwar al-Jundī : Tāhā Hussayn - Hayātahu-wa Fikruhu Fī Mīzān al  
Islām: Dār-al-Itisām Misr: 1976.
23. Muḥammad al-Desuqī. : Tāhā Hussayn YatakalamU 'An A'lām  
al-'Arabiyyah wa Ma'ādiruḥu.  
Libya Tunis.
24. Dār-al-'Arabiyyah Lil Kutub. : Tāhā Hussayn - Maqduhu-al-Adabī Wa Masādiruḥu:  
Libya Tunis.

### CHAPTER THIRD

Survey of Historical Literature of Arabic.

# CHAPTER III

111

## II SURVEY OF BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE IN ARABIC.

### INTRODUCTION

It can safely be said, without fear of contradiction, that the Arabs were pioneers in writing biographies and developing them to the level of an art. Arab 'Ulamā' has zealously put themselves, heart and soul, in acquiring perfection in the art of writing biographies at a time when their counterparts, elsewhere, were completely unaware of this form of writing and giving it a blend of literature. The magnificence with which they combined narration of biographical events with literary art is vividly seen in the such literature which is abundantly available, though much of it has been subjected to the negligence of the following generations and, therefore, has been lost.

The need for writing biography was originally necessiated by the fact that Muslims (in the first phase Sahābah for that matter) were very much devoted to the prophet whose every word was absorbing and every action fascinating for them, as he was, and continues to be, held in the highest esteem. Furthermore, his action and words (Ahādith) were authentic, accurate and scrupulous explanation of the Holy Qur'an. This also necessiated the preservation of these actions and words. With minutes possible details and it was thought to be a unique service to the cause of Islam. It would be interesting to note that this resolve was so much supermost in the minds of the majority of the Sahābah that they would keep themselves in the company of the Prophet at every important occasion. Those who missed, it, would enquire from about the conversations from those who had the opportunity to attend and would commit it to memory. Hence the first biography in Arabic is entitled 'Sīrat Rasūl Allāh'. This work has been compiled by Ibn Ishāq (d. 768 AD)

1. Dr. Ahmad Mohammad al-Hurī: Article Captioned "Mafayāt al-A'yan li Ibn Khallikān":

in 'Majallah Turāth al-Insāniyyah: September: 1965: PP: 685.

2. Ibid: pp: 686.

3. Ahmad Hassan Zayyāt: Tārīkh Adab al-'Arabī: PP: 173.

4. Reynold A. Nicholson: A literary History of Arabs: PP: 349.

Upto the advent of Islam, the art of reading and writing had not developed much in the Arabian Peninsula and it was confined only to a few. But, with the advent of Islam, especially after the establishment of Islamic State <sup>at</sup> Madīnah, the need for the art of reading and writing <sup>was</sup> felt and, in fact, a number of incentives were provided. The condition for release of many of the 'Badr' prisoners was to teach art of reading and writing to at least ~~two~~ <sup>one</sup> Muslims. But, with all this, the art had not so much developed as to make them able to dispense with memorising the Ahādīth and they were transmitted to posterity by way of narration. Hence the emergence of a group of 'Ruwāt' (Narrators)

But a very soon an unfortunate factor was added to it in the shape of Fabricators of Ahādīth who narrated something which they attributed to the Prophet which actually were not his words or actions. Chief factor for the emergence of ~~and~~ such a group was political rivalry between different warring factions which ~~included~~ <sup>was</sup> many to be a prey to this abhorant practice. This necessitated;

a) 'Ilm al-Hadīth (Science of Traditions) to determine the authenticity of Ahādīth. Its most dependable critical apparatus <sup>were</sup> 'Asnād' (link of Narrators), Jarh' (disparagement) and 'Ta'dīl' (Authantiction), which the Muhadithūn used extensively and without reservation;

B) 'Ilm al-Rijāl' to give an authentic description of narrators (Ruwāt) in order to determine their credentials to narrate Ahādīth and to give an account of Sahābah, Tabi'ūn and Taba' Tabi'ūn and of the services which they rendered to the cause of Islam. This brought into being the art of writing 'Biographical Dictionaries' which have ever remained a significant part of the Arabic literature.

With ~~respect~~ the passage of time, the trend to write biographical sketches exclusively of Sahābah, Tabi'ūn and Taba' Tabi'ūn was gradually changed to make it inclusive of the account of Kings, Amīrs, Qādīs, 'Ulemā', Poets, ~~and~~ men of letters

1. Syid Abu 'L' A'la-Mawdūdī: Tafsīr al-Qur'an: Vol: I: PP:

2. Ahmad Hassan Zayyat: Tārīkh Adab al-'Arabi (urdu Translation by Tufayl Ahmad) PP: 87.

3. Ibid: pp: 222.

generous people, Physicians, Mathematicians, Lexicographers, Historians, Geographers - in fact all those who held some position of prominence in society. These accounts were not ~~limited~~ confined to some particular areas, tribes or clans, but would cover all men and women of prominence in any part of the Muslim World. Eventually, it did ~~not~~ not remain limited to Muslims only but ~~also~~ included all those who were the citizens of the Muslim World.

In the beginning, when the art of writing biographies and biographical dictionaries came into being, as necessitated by the circumstances, the sole motive behind it seemed to cover ~~a~~ every detail of the Prophet's life and actions; of his Magāzī and defensive strategy; of what was known about Jāhiliya History such as Alḥabā Jurham and Zamzam; Qusayy bin Kitāb, his super say in Meccan affairs, his efforts to bring the Qurashites ~~to~~ on a united platform, story of Sudd Ma'rib etc - to enable the following generations to understand the Quran in its right perspective.

But with the passage of time, the scope of the art was widened to include men of prominence from different categories of thinking and ~~in~~ learning, the motive seemed to include:

a) a desire to learn from the experiences of past generations and to accumulate their experiences with their own findings in order to make it a combinations of both. Al-Subkī, in his introduction to Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah has made it clear that the 'Ulamā' are sign posts of right conduct and we can gain much from studying their lives and achievements ;

b) a resolve to highlight the knowledge, piety, generosity, talent, scholarship, broadmindedness, intelligence - in fact all that is included in virtue - to inspire the following generations and to induce them to follow the right path. This is what al-Kutubī wants to convey when he says in his foreword to Fawāt al-Wafayāt that the science of history is the mirror of times through which we can become acquainted with

the experiences of nations. This, in ~~fact~~ itself, was a sufficient plea for later biographers to use pragmatic style and attitude in their writings. Hence an explanation for al-Bārūnī and al-Gazzī to record only the Mahmūd (Laudable) part of one's personality and to drop every derogatory reference to his character and, even if they had to make a mention, they ascribed it to the original source because they feared the Day of Judgement and ~~aspirated~~ aspired for Thawāb. They thought it improper to ~~share~~ share the responsibility of reprehensible comment of any narrator or even if they recorded it in their own works inadvertently. But the attitude of the majority remained critical, ~~the~~ stylistic and highly technical.

### BRIEF HISTORY

As already stated, Arabs were induced to write biographical literature by their close association with and dedication to the Prophet whom they held supreme and more sacred than all the worldly personalities whom they knew. Their eagerness to preserve even the minutest details of his life has already been emphasized. Hence it is not surprising, <sup>to</sup> note that the earliest biography in the Arabic literature is 'Sīrat Rasūl-illāh', which was compiled by Ibn Ishāq (d 768 AD) and has survived in the form of the later compilation by Ibn Hishām (d. 834 AD), based on it.

The information about History of Islam was an ingredient part of the Ahādith which, <sup>were</sup> collected and compiled with chapterisation, Sīrah and Magāzī formed separate chapters. Very soon independent works were written on the subject but the Muhaddithūn continued to record them under separate chapters in their collections, Kitāb al-Magāzī in Sahīh al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-Jihād Wa al-Siyar in Sahīh Muslim, Kitāb al-Magāzī in Musnad Ahmad and so on.

Abban bin 'Uthmān bin 'Affān al-Madani (d 105 AH/722 AD) was the first to compile a book of Magāzī. He was followed by 'Urwah bin Zubayr bin-al-'A'wān al-Madani

---

1. Al-Kutubī: Fawāt-al-Wafayāt: Vol: I: PP: 1.

2. Al-Gazzī: Kawakib al-Sā'irah: Vol: II: PP: 7.

3. John A. Haywood: Modern Arabic Literature: PP: 20.

4. Ahmad Amin: PP: 319.

(d 94 AH/711 AD approx), Shurjil bin Sa'd al-Madani (d:123 AH/740 AD) and Wahb bin Munabbah al-Madani (d:110 AH /727 AD). These four form~~the~~ the first group of Sirah and Magazi writers. It can be seen that all the four belonged to Madinah and their chief source of information were those Sahaba who had either been a <sup>-1-</sup> witness to the events recorded or had heard the details from the first source which they faithfully narrated.

'Abd-Allah bin Abi Bakr bin Hazm al-Madani (d:135 AH/752 AD), 'Asim bin 'Amr bin Qatadah al-Madani (d:120 AH/737 AD approx) and Mohammad bin Muslim bin Shahnab al-Zuhri al-Makki (d:124 AH/741 AD) from the second live ~~group~~ of Sirah and Magazi writers. Here again, it is interesting to note that barring <sup>in</sup> Ibn Shahnab al-Zuhri, all the other compilers of this line were Madani, their origin and - as such - their chief source of information were the Madani Sahaba or Tabi 'un. With them started the tendency to record ~~in~~ relevant verses of poetry while recording the events. But none of the ~~sample~~ compilations of any compiler from these two groups of narrators has come down to us. <sup>-2-</sup> <sup>-3-</sup>

Musa bin 'Aqabah al-Madani (d:141 AH/758 AD), Mu'awiz bin Rashid al-Basri (d:150 AH/767 AD), Mohammad bin Ishaq al-Madani (d:152 AH/768 AD approx), Mohammad bin 'Umar al-Waqidi al-Madani (d:207 AH/823 AD approx), Zayad al-Bukari al-Kufi (d:183 AH/800 AD), Mohammad bin Sa'd al-Basri (D:230 AH/854 AD) and Abu Mohammad 'Abd-al-Malik bin Hishan al-Hamiri (d:218 AH/834 AD) from the third group of Sirah and Magazi compilers. Ibn Ishaq and al-Waqidi are the most prominent <sup>-3-</sup> biographical historians of this group and, in fact, of the early 'Abbasid period.

From this study, it will be seen that most of the Sirah and Magazi compilers were Madani. In fact, this art owes its origin to Madinah for obvious reasons, chief of them being availability of first hand sources of information. Later, when the art and its scope developed and widened, it found its seat in famous cities of Kufa and Basrah in 'Irāq.

The events and details were narrated and quoted with a stress on Asnad in the same way <sup>was</sup> as the practice with narration regarding Salat, Zakat, Hajj etc. As

1. Ahmad Amin: PP: 320-323.

2. Ibid: PP: 324-327.

3. Nicholson: PP: 247.

4. Ahmad Amin: PP: 328.

such, a trend of Asnad quoting was set which was faithfully followed by some while a few would drop ~~in~~ some links to make the Asnad shorter.

And since fabrication of Ahādīth had unfortunately taken place, the critical apparatus of Jarh and Ta'dīl were extensively employed to ascertain that only the genuine information was recorded and a judgement passed on the authenticity or otherwise of any of the narrators.

Later biography writers followed the <sup>precedence</sup> ~~tradition~~ set in style and material by their predecessors. But, as far as entries are concerned, the choice varied from one to another. The scope of some biographical dictionaries was widened to ~~it~~ include men of prominence from all branches of life, while some other biographical dictionaries were exclusively meant for men of prominence in a particular field or of a particular thinking or of a particular area. The art had attained such a tremendous progress that we find this ~~book~~ <sup>branch</sup> of writing gradually ~~or~~ <sup>closer</sup> coming to historiography. In fact, they overlap each other at a number of places and this overlapping could not be checked. The phenomenon continued till

biographical literature became a part of historiography and we see many biography writers stating with ample clarification that 'this is a concise treatise

-1-

(Mukhtasar) in the science of history. This caused much of biographical literature to be written. *Sīrat-en-Nabawiyah* by Ibn Hishām (d:834 AD), *Tabaqāt al-Kabīr* by Ibn Sa'd (d:844 AD), *Tabaqāt al-Shu'arā'* by Ibn Sallām (d:845 AD), *Tabaqāt al-Insān* by Ibn Sa'id al-Aarābī (952 AD), *Kitāb al-Agānī* by Abū-al-Faraj al-Asbahānī (d:966 AD), *Kitāb al-Shu'arā'* and *Akhbār-al-Qudāt al-Misriyah* by Mohammad bin Yūsuf al-Kindī (d:985 AD), *Ash'ar al-Nisā* by al-Marzabānī (d:994 AD), *Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyah* by Al-Sulamī (d:1012 AD), *Tārīkh al-Sūfiyah* by Al-Sanawī (d:1005 AD), *Tārīkh Bagdād* by Khatīb al-Bagdadī (d:1070 AD), *Tārīkh Hukamā' al-Islām* by Zahir al-Dīn Baihaqī (d:1169 AD), *Kitāb al-Ansāb* by Al-Sam'ānī (d:1166 AD), *Mu'jam al-*

---

1. Ibn Khallikān: *Wafayāt al-A'yān*: Volume: I: Introduction.



'Udaba' by Yaqūt al-Rūmī (d:1229 AD), Inbāh al-Ruwāt by Al-Qiftī (d:1248 AD), 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fi Tabaqāt al-Attibā' by Ibn Abī Usaybah (d:1248 AD), Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā' by Shamas al-Dīn al-Zahbī (d:1348), Al-Wafī bi al-Wafayāt by Salāh al-Dīn al-Safadī (d:1363 AD), Tabaqāt al-Shāfa'iyah by al-Suhkī (d:1369 AD), Tabaqāt al-Hanafiyah by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qarshī (d:1373 AD) Al-Daw al-Lāmi' Li Ahl al-Qarn al Tāsi' by Al-Sakhawī (d:1497 AD), Al-Isābah fi Tamīz al-Sahābah by Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī (d:1449 AD), Nazam-'Iqyan fi A'yān al-A'yān by Al-Suyūṭī (d:1505 AD), Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah by Najam al-Dīn al-Gazzī (d:1652 AD) and many others are the best examples of this literature.

One more aspect of this literature which should not be lost sight of is the origin of writing personal accounts by some writers in certain books written by them. These writers would, sometimes, give a full and detailed account of their lives and sometimes it would be a diary of certain important events. Some prominent names in this category are those of Ibn Sīnā (d:1036 AD), Usamah bin Munqaz (d:1188 AD), Ammarah al-Yamrī (d:1173 AD), <sup>-1-</sup> 'Ammād al-Asbahānī (d:1200), <sup>-2-</sup> Līsan al-Dīn al-Khatīb (d:1273 AD), <sup>-3-</sup> Ibn Khaldūn (d:1403 AD), <sup>-4-</sup> Al-Suyūṭī (d:1505 AD). <sup>-5-</sup>

Another type of autobiographical literature, as developed by the Arabs, is travellers reminiscences. These would be an accurate description of the events and ~~some anecdotes~~ anecdotes which the travellers had had the opportunity

- 
1. He recorded some of the most important events of his life in a systematic order and artistic style so as to look like an autobiography. This he did in his book "Al-Nakat al-Misriyah".
  2. He gave a brief account of his life in the preface to his book "Al Barq al-Shāmī".
  3. He gave an account of some of the most important events of his life in his book "Al-Thatah fi Tarikh al-Garnatah".
  4. He gave his life account in a bit of little detail in his book "Al Taṣrif bi Ibn Khaldūn".
  5. He recorded his life account in his book "Al-Hasan al-Hādīrah".

to witness. The information ~~subject~~ collected, as such, was often verified from some reliable sources - both oral and written. The best example of such literature in Arabic is that of Ibn Batūta (d:1377 AD), who has recorded, in his book 'Tuhfat al-Nazzār', the events and the personal experiences with a dramatic vividness.

This brings us to the description and evaluation of the works of some of the most celebrated biographers. Such survey cannot be conducted here in detail, as ~~and~~ it would be ~~in~~ beyond the scope of our work. The survey will be mainly focussed on certain important points e:g.

- a) The motive which led a biographer to compile his work ;
- b) The personalities which he selected for inclusion in his work ;
- c) The source of information on which he banked ;
- d) The style he adopted in his work ;
- e) The critical apparatus which he employed in determining the position of his hero and

f) The role he played in widening the scope of the art. It is practically impossible to restrict oneself strictly to the order given above ~~gix~~ while doing ~~and~~ the survey and some overlapping is inevitable. For this purpose, I have selected fifteen works by as many writers, the earliest dating back to 218 AH/834 AD and the last to 1061/1651 AD.

---

1. John A. Haywood: PP: 20.

L I F E

'Abd al-Malik ibn Hisham ibn Ayub-al-Hamari was born in Basrah. His actual date of birth is not known. He got his elementary as well as higher education in Islamic Sciences at Basrah. His teachers include Yunus bin Habib (d:182 AH) in Sirah, Abu 'Ubaydah Mu'ammir bin al-Athna (d:218 AH), Abu Muhriz Khalaf al-Ahmar (d:180 AH) approx and Abu Zayd al-Ansari (d:215 AH). He left Basrah for Egypt to complete his education. In Egypt, between 199 to 204 AH, he met ~~Imam~~ Imam Shafi'i from whom he benefited. Ibn Hisham died in Egypt in 218 AH/834 AD. Al-Tijan Fi Muluk Hamir and al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah are his celebrated works. But, it is Sirat al-Nabawiyah that ~~has~~ he is famous for to the extent that it is known after his name i.e. Sirah Ibn Ishaq. As already said it has survived in the form of Sirah Ibn Hisham.

AL-SIRAH AL-NABAWIYAH

Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah by Ibn Hisham is an edited form of Sirah al-Nabawiyah by Ibn Ishaq (d:150 AH). Ibn Ishaq collected and recorded all that information which was directly or indirectly connected with the Prophet's life and Magazi. This biography covers ~~the~~ both the periods of the Prophet's life, before and after he became Prophet. He gave a literary blend to the work by quoting verses brought down and narrated to him but, being a non-professional, he included them in his work without assessing their worth. Ibn Hisham judged the worth of the verses and their authenticity with the help of his taste for poetry and excluded those verses which did not hold ground on being assessed. He has also dropped many verses which sounded obscene to him. All those verses of Muslim poets against 'Mushrike' have been excluded by Ibn Hisham which he thought to be derogatory, abusive and obscene. Ibn Hisham said, "I have dropped three verses from the Qasidah of Haddan as they were abusive." Ibn Hisham said, "I have dropped one verse from it in which

---

1. Sirah Ibn Hisham: Vol. I: PP: 19.

2. Ibid: Vol. III: PP: 19 (Example)

3. Ibid: Vol. I: PP: 385.

-1-

he (the poet) used abusive language". Thus Ibn Hishām has been fair to the 120 polytheists as well. He has appended to the book fresh information e.g. Dāhīs and al Gabrā story, account of Harb al-Ishāq (Ibn Ishāq said) and Fijār and so on.

-2-

-3-

While writing Sirah, he ~~book~~ starts with Qala Ibn Ishāq (IBN Ishāq said) and quotes what has been said by him. While presenting his own version he says, "Qala Ibn Hishām". (Ibn Hishām said). This is clearly meant to enable the reader to distinguish between Ibn Ishāq's writing and his own. This practice is surprisingly according to the modern technic of research.

-4-

Whenever necessity has demanded, Ibn Hishām has appended an explanatory note to the verses, facts, events and Ansāb quoted by Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Ishāq quoted Salīm Fārisī as saying :-

"فَمَا سَمِعْتُهَا اخَذْتُني العرواء"

(When I heard her, I trembled)

Ibn Hishām says :-

"والعرواء: الرعدة من البرد أو الإشتقاق - فَإِنْ كَانَ  
مَعَ ذَلِكَ عَرَقٌ فَهِيَ رَحْضَاءٌ"

Al-'Ura' means shivering with cold and fever, so if it was accompanied by sweating then it was of fever". At another place Ibn Hishām says :-

-6-

"الحس: الإشتغال - يُقَالُ حَسْتُ الشَّيْءِ أَيِ اسْتَضَلَّتْهُ بِالسِّيفِ وَغَيْرِهِ"

Al-Hass means to eradicate. It is said I eradicated a thing meaning thereby that I eradicated it by sword etc." Ibn Ishāq quotes the genealogy of 'Amr as 'Amr bin Ganam bin Sawād. But Ibn Hishām says; 'Amr bin Sawād and Sawād had no son by the name of Ganam.

-7-

Where Ibn Ishāq has erred while deriving a word from its root, Ibn Hishām has ~~corrected~~ corrected it. For example ~~quoting~~ while quoting the event of the Prophet being handed over to Halimah, his foster mother, Ibn Ishāq says:-

"وَالْتَمَسَ لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الرَّحْضَاءُ"

1. Sirah Ibn Hishām: Vol: II: PP: 387.

2. Ibid: Vol: I: 305.

3. Ibid: PP: 195.

4. Ibid: PP: 18. 5. Ibid: PP: 18.

6. Ibid: PP: 233.

7. Ibid: Vol: II: PP: 72.

8. Ibid: Vol: I: PP: 18.

'and foster mothers were sought for Rasūl Allāh. Ibn Hishām says : It is al-Marāḍi', In the Qurān, in the case of Mūsā, there occurs: "وَحَرَّمْنَا عَلَيْهِ الْمَرَاضِعَ" <sup>-1-</sup> we denied foster mothers for him (Mūsā) And where Ibn Ishāq has erred in giving vowels to a word, Ibn Hishām has appended a phonotical note. On Lu-al-Khulūsā Ibn Ishāq has put Fath on Khā and Lām but Ibn Hishām says it is Dammah. <sup>-2-</sup>

The book opens with an account of geneological line of the Prophet and the Arabs. The information about Jāhili people, their manners, idols; reconstruction of Zam Zam well; the Prophet's birth, upbringing, invocation; suffering of the Faithful; Is Hījrah; Bay'at al-'Aqabah I and II; the Prophet's Migration; Gazat; conspiracies of the Jews; 'Aam al Wufūd and the Prophet's correspondance with Kings and governors. The book closes with the description of the Prophet's wives; his ailment and death; account of Saqifah Banū Sa'idah, difference of opinion on the election of of the Khalifah and its final outcome.

Ibn Hishām has taken immense care in verifying the facts and events recorded and has appended clarification notes wherever he thought necessary to differ from Ibn Ishāq. Critical apparatus of Jarh and Ta'dil has been vastly employed. This is why the Sīrah is named after him and not after Ibn Ishāq. One is compelled <sup>-3-</sup> to accede to it and declare that it is not a misnomer.

---

1. Sīrah Ibn Hishām: PP: 108.

2. Ibid: PP: 88.

3. Ibid: PP: 20.

AL-TABAQĀT AL KUBRĀ BY IBN SA'D.  
.....

L I F E  
.....

-1-

Mohammad bin Sa'd bin Manī' al-Basrī Surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh was born in Basrah in 168 AH/782 AD. After receiving his preliminary education at Basrah, he migrated to Bagdad where he was employed by al-Wāqidi as his Kātib and from him he received his further education. Deep and co-ordial relations between the teacher and the pupil and the employer and the employee earned for him the ~~surname~~ surname of "Kātib al-Wāqidi". He undertook a journey to Kūfah and Madīnah which lasted upto 200 AD. During his visits to different cities, he contacted many 'Ulamā' of great repute from whom he received greater insight in to the science of Hadīth, Qirat, Fiqh, Jarh and Ta'dīd. Very soon, he was among the most famous 'Ulamā' of the time. He died in Bagdad on Sunday, 4-6-230 AH/844 AD and was buried there. His most celebrated work al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, has been published in eight volumes.

AL-TABAQĀT AL KUBRĀ  
.....

Tabaqāt Ibn Sa'd is the first of its kind in Arabic Biographical literature, leaving aside Tabaqāt al-Wāqidi which is extinct. This is why this book has served as a primary source of information for later writers not only in the field of biography, but also of history and geography and has continued to be quoted as an authentic source since then.

A Tabaqah is usually considered to cover a period of twenty years, but in the case of Ibn Sa'd it covers a little less than twenty years e.g. third generation in the book gets completed between 108 to 113 AH and the fourth between 126 to 132 AH.

The Prophet's life has been covered in the first two volumes. Part of the

1. Ibn Sa'd: Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā: Vol: I: PP: 5.
2. Ibid: PP: 6.
3. Ibid: PP: 6.
4. Ibn Khallikān: Wafayāt al-A'yān: Vol: III: PP: 473.
5. Ibn Sa'd: Vol: I: PP: 12-13.

third volume has been reserved for the description of Munāfiqūn and trouble<sup>123</sup> makers of Madīnah and the biographical description of Sahābah and Tabi'ūn is covered in four and a half ~~volumes~~ volumes. The last volume has been specified for the description of prominent ladies in Islam.

The biographies have been arranged not according to alphabetical order, but according to the date of entry of a person into the fold of Islam. The events like Hijrah to ~~Makkah~~ <sup>" "</sup> Habshah, War of Badar, consequent of Makkah etc. have also been arranged in the same manner. In the case of the Tabi'ūn, their place of residence has been taken into consideration as a basis of preference as far as their description is concerned. The order in this case is Madīnah, Makkah, <sup>-1-</sup> Ta'if, Yaman, Kufah, Basrah, Syria, Egypt and so on.

This order of description was bound to create a defect in the narration as it necessitated to describe a single person at ~~more~~ <sup>at</sup> more than one place, because if a Sahābī took part in the battle of Badar or Uhud and after the Prophet's death got settled at any place other than Madīnah, he had but to be mentioned at both the places. Ibn Sa'd particularly overcame this difficulty by ~~giving~~ giving a detailed account of the person at one place and a very concise one at the other or even referring to the place where his detailed account has been given.

The basic source of information of Ibn Sa'd is his teacher al-Wāqidi's 'Kitāb al-Magāzī' to which he has added many more trustworthy sources like 'Azwāj al-Nabi', 'Wafat al-Nabi', 'Akhbār Makkah', 'Al-Sīrah' etc. Besides, he contacted many 'Jūdhā' of high rank.

In quoting the events and accounts of his heroes, he has used long 'Asnād' which has partially eclipsed his personality and merit of the book. The reader also does not enjoy reading it. Though, at times, Ibn Sa'd has shortened the 'Asnād' by saying Muhammad Bin Sa'd told us 'but such instances are scanty. However, it

1. Ibn Sa'd: Vol: I: PP: 12.

2. Ibid: PP: 10.

can not be disputed that it has added to the authenticity of the book. When<sup>124</sup> ever the situation warrants, Ibn Sa'id has given a number of explanatory notes. Ibn Sa'id has refuted the contention that the Prophet wept at his mother's grave when Makkah was conquered<sup>125</sup> saying that her grave was in al-Abayā' and not in Makkah.

Al-Wāqidi, Ibn Sa'id's teacher is considered to be 'weak (da'if) in the terminology of 'Ilm al-Hadīth by some while the majority would prefer him to many others. Although Ibn Sa'id heavily banked on Kitāb al-Magāzī for his information yet he did not accept a good amount of information given by al-Wāqidi. Al-Wāqidi did not pay attention towards authentication of information about the Jāhiliya period, while Ibn Sa'id did so. Jarh and Ta'dīl cannons have extensively been employed by him. Al-Wāqidi has accepted narration of Hishām bin Muhammad bin al-Sā'ilī while as Ibn Sa'id has discarded much of his narrations. These and such other measures were responsible for making his book authentic giving it its present form. Ibn Khallikān says about Ibn Sa'id, "He was truthful and authentic".<sup>126</sup> As Sakhawī says, "He was authentic though his teacher was weak".<sup>127</sup>

Since the book is the first of its kind in Arabic literature, it has proved to be a trend setter for the future scholars and writers in the field so far as the selection and the presentation of the material is concerned. The inclusive character of the book induced a number of later writers to further widen the scope and subject matter of their works.

---

1. Ibn Sa'id : Vol: I: PP: 14.

2. Ibn Khallikān: Vol: III: PP: 473.

3. Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyah.



TABAQĀT AL SŪFIYAH - BY AL SULAMĪ

XXXXXXXX L I F E XXXXXX

Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī was born on 10-5-25 AH/16-10-86 AD (Jamādī al-Awal, 10 325AH/April 16, 936 AD) in Neshāpūr Iran. His father was financially hard up while his maternal grandfather was wealthy and had no son of his own. Therefore, he adopted al-Sulamī. He got his early education at Neshāpūr and visited 'Irāq, Rai, Hamadān, Marū, Hadjāz and other places to complete higher education. in Muslim Sciences. At the age of thirty he started his literary career and the main fields of his interest were the Qurān, the Hadīth, the Tafsīr and Tassawwuf. During fifty seven years of his literary career, he wrote as many as six hundred Volumes, earliest among which was Haqā'iq al-Tafsīr and the last Tabqāt al-Sufiyah which he wrote towards the end of fourth century Hijrah. He died at Neshāpūr on 3-10-412/102 AD (Shawāl 3, 412 AH) and was buried in the Maqārah of Neshāpūr.

TABAQĀT AL SŪFIYAH

\* Al Sulamī's Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyah is not the first of its kind written on the subject as many scholars before him had compiled such works and it is from them that al-Sulamī has benefited very much in the compilation of his book. However, it is an unfortunate fact that these books have not survived only in the form of al-Sulamī's Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyah of which they have formed the base.

The chief factor which induced al-Sulamī to compile his Tabaqāt was to commemorate the virtues of the ancestors (Sūfis or for that matter) whom, to al-Sulamī, were the possessors of the truth of monotheism and who transmitted the outward form of law as well as the inward realities of religion. They were 'awliyah' of the Ummah and, hence true followers of the Prophet and, as such, they deserved commemorations. Commemoration.

1-Al-Sulamī: Tabaqāt al Sūfiyah: PP: 19.

2. Ibid: PP: 30.

3. Ibid: 49.

4. Ibid: PP: 50.

5. Ibid: PP: 31.

6. Ibid: PP: 59-51.

7. Ibid: PP: 2-3.

Al-Sulami has divided the heroes of his book into four Tabaqāt in each of which he intended to record an account of twenty Shuyūkh (Sūfīs) from among leaders, Masha'ikh and <sup>-1-</sup> 'Uḥmā'. He also intended to record, more or less, twenty of those sayings of each of them which he had not recorded in any other book, except with a different narr<sup>-2-</sup>ation or inadvertently. As such, the book must have had the ~~number~~ biographical account of hundred personalities but, in fact, the number is one hundred and five. This is because of the fact that he has given biographical account of two Sūfīs under one heading at five places. Such examples are found in the first and the fifth Tabaqāt and the quotations of their sayings have, in about all cases, exceeded the number fixed by him.

The book has been arranged in ~~sim~~ chronological order. All those prominent Sūfīs have been grouped under one Tabaqah whose years ~~of~~ death corresponded to each other or were approximate. <sup>-3-</sup> ~~Sim~~ Chapter first opens with Fudāyl bin 'Ayād (d:187 AH) and closes with Abū Turāh al-Khashbī (D: n.d.: traceable, perhaps around 240 AH). Chapter second ~~opens~~ opens with Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd (d:297 AH) and closes with Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Sazajī (date of death not given, perhaps around 299 AH). Chapter third opens with Mohammad al-Jarīr (d:311 AH) ~~and~~ and closes with Abū Ja'far bin Sannān (d:311 AH). Fourth Chapter opens with Abū Bakr al-Shīblī (d:334 AH) and closes with Abū Bakr bin Abī Sa'dān (d: around 340 AH). And the fifth chapter opens with Abū Sa'īd bin al-'A'arābī (d:341 AH) and closes with 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Mohammad bin 'Abd al-Khālīq al-Daymūrī (d: around 366 AH).

The information about personality is usually recorded as follows : name, father's name, short geneological account, surname, title, tribe, place and dates of birth and death - whenever he could find out the accurate dates ~~and~~ and whenever not possible they have been left out. ~~Sim~~ Usually the sayings (Aqwal), qualities, Sirah, account of knowledge and Sūfic style (Turuq al-Sūfiyyah) of the person under discussion have been mentioned. In quoting the Hādīth in whose chain of narrators

---

1. Al-Sulami: Tabaqāt-al-Sūfiyyah: PP: 3.

2. Ibid: PP: 518.

3. Ibid: PP: 3.

4. Ibid: PP: 13.

he has been a link have been quoted first and then his own sayings. Since the book is solely concerned with Sūfī, only those Ahādīth have been quoted which prompt the reader to renounce worldly pleasures and to purify his soul. As such, the book is the good collection of Ahādīth and Aqwāl al-Sūfiyyah in this field and the selection, obviously, is of high standard.

In recording the biographical accounts, events, Ahādīth and Aqwāl, al-Sulamī has faithfully employed Ḥasnād and canons of Jarh and Ta'dīl, clearly intending to make his book more authentic. But, it remains a fact that the Ḥasnād which he has quoted have caused his own personality to slide to the back ground.

AL ISTI'ĀB FĪ MA'RIFAT AL ASHĀB BY IBN 'ABD AL BARR

L I F E

Yūsuf bin 'Abd Allāh bin Mohammad bin 'Abd al-Barr was born in Cordova in Andulus, where he got his primary education. He visited many ~~at~~ seats of learning in Andulus and finally settled in Eastern Andulus, where he served as a Qādī in different cities. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr breathed his last in Jamādī al-Thānī 30,463 AH/1071 AD and was buried in Shātābah in Eastern Andulus. He has as many as ten volumeneous works to his credit, one among them is 'Al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Ashāb' published in four volumes from Cairo.

AL-ISTI'ĀB FĪ MA'RIFAT AL ASHĀB

The book contains an account of four thousand ~~at~~ two hundred and twenty five Sahāba, among whom one thousand one ~~at~~ entries are of Sahābiyāt and their account has been given under a separate heading Kitāb al-Nisā'. The book opens with the biographical account of the Prophet, followed by the account of Sahāba whom he has arranged in Tabaqāt. While describing his heroes, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has <sup>paid</sup> ~~paid~~ special attention to give the name with genealogical account, dates of birth and death, causes leading the entry into the fold of Islam, pre and post Is-lamic life and an account of laudable acts. The dates of birth and death have been dropped in the case the ~~author~~ has not been able <sup>to</sup> fix them accurately.

The biographical accounts are of unequal length ranging from just one line to scores of pages, mainly ~~at~~ depending on the personality of the Sahābī. Entry Nos. 144, 145, 147, 153, 192, 294 to 298, 586, 588 and many more have ~~much~~ merited only one, one and a half or at the most two lines of description - usually

1. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr: ~~Kitāb al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Ashāb~~: Al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifah al-Ashāb: Vol: IV: PP: 1972.
2. Ibid: PP: 1973.
3. Ibid: PP: 10; Vol: I.

the first one or two components of the name, date of birth or death or both.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, however, has made his book very comprehensive. In fact, it is 'all inclusive' in which all the Sahābah have been included even if a single meeting with the Prophet has been established or if they have narrated even one sentence of what they heard from the Prophet. Even a child has found a place in the book if he was born of Muslim parents and was seen by the Prophet. If any one presented a 'Hadiyah' to the Prophet and he accepted it, he has also found place in the book. It has been left entirely to the authors' discretion as to whether a source of information is authentic or otherwise.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr had arranged the entries of his book in alphabetical order as known in Magrib. But, when the book was published, it was thought proper to arrange them in alphabetical order as ~~is~~ known in Mashriq. This was done to benefit a large leadership.

'Give to each man what is his by right' and 'place men in their proper ranks' are <sup>two</sup> ~~two~~ Ahādith of the Prophet which have induced many biography writers to strictly employ the canons of Jarh and Ta'did in determining the position of the entry. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr is no exception to this general rule. In fact he has given an explanation to this effect when he says, "It is impossible to put on equal footing those who fought against the Prophet and his supporters with those who fought on their side..... Every one has his proper rank and definite position .... We shall, God willing, give their account in (different) chapters" ... "We shall describe laudable ~~and~~ deeds of the Sahābah in most passionate and ~~benefiting~~ style describe their worth and their precedence in Islam (Sabaqat Fi-al-Islām), and then, determine their position.

---

1. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr: Al-Istī'āh Fī Ma'rifah al-Ashāb: Vol: IV: PP: 24.

2. Ibid: PP: 20.

3. Ibid: PP: 18.

4. Ibid: PP: 20.

A unique feature of the book which deserves to be taken note of is that it has combined the quality of biographical dictionary with that of a book of Ahādīth. Every care has been taken to quote, with asnad, a Hādīth narrated by the person under discussion. In this way drawing benefit from Ahādīth has been made an absorbing affair.

Ibn 'Abd al-~~Harr~~ has taken a further step towards freeing the art of biography writing from asnad by shunning, as far as possible, its employment in recording of biographical events of an entry. This has helped in making the subject more absorbing. Any how, where Ahādīth had to be quoted, the practice has, for obvious reasons, been very faithfully followed. The book is highly technical as far as the style of expression and presentation of the material is concerned. The conclusions have been subjected to the gravity of discussion.

\*\*\*\*\*

KITĀB AL ANSĀB BY AL SAM'ĀNĪ

L I F E

Imān Abū Sa'd 'Abd-al-Karīm bin Mohammad bin Mansūr al-Sam'ānī was born on Sha'bān 21,506 AH at Mārū. When he was three and a half years old his father passed away and he was entrusted to the guardianship of his learned uncle. Besides looking after him, he provided him with every facility to acquire deep insight in to the knowledge of all art of which he ~~was~~ was capable and for which he had to travel extensively. At the age of thirty two, he returned to his native town where his main job was to read, write, ~~teach~~ teach and to collect material for his books. He wrote as many as fifty three books most of which consisted of more than one volumes but only a few have been brought down to posterity. He died in his native town in Rabi' al Awwal, 562 AH/116 AD. Most celebrated of his works is Kitāb al Ansāb.

KITĀB AL-ANSĀB

Al-Sam'ānī has reserved a full chapter for those Ahādīth which he has quoted with long chains of asnād and which inspire and induce a person to acquire the knowledge of genealogy. As such, he has tried to give religious sanctity to this branch of knowledge. This, in itself, is a sufficient explanation as to why the author undertook such a ~~laborious~~ labourous job for which he started collecting materials from 550 AH.

He intended to record the geneological line of the entry with its related details with the help of long chains of asnād and actually did it in the beginning. But very soon he avoided the practice in order to make it easy for jurists and not to make its recording and memorising difficult for Huffāz. He usually narrates the facts by saying, "It has been narrated (Ruwiḥ) or at the most; It has been narrated from <sup>(2n)</sup> ~~the~~ (Ruwiḥ) and gives the original source of information.

1. Al-Sam'ānī: Kitāb al-Ansāb: Vol: I: PP: 29-30.

2. Ibid: PP: 30.

He has arranged the entries in his book in alphabetical order beginning with Alif Mamlūdah and has observed the order ~~xx~~ upto the fourth letter of the name. He has recorded the geneological line of the ~~entry~~ entry, account of his teachers, his place of birth and his date of death. Besides, he has given a ~~g~~ brief biographical  
-1-  
account as well.

The practice had developed with the biography writers to begin their books by the biographical account of the Prophet with necessary information about the tribe and sub-branch of the tribe to which he belonged. Al Sam'ānī has faithfully followed the tradition and has opened his book by the description of geneological line of <sup>the</sup> Prophet, the tribe and the sub-branch of tribes ~~and branch~~ to which he belonged.

He has recorded the geneology of various characters according to their tribes and sub-branches such as the ~~Qur~~ Qurashites and Hāshimtes according to their fore-fathers such as Sulaymānī and al-'Āsimī according to their religious sects such as Shāfiī, Hanafī and Hanbalī, according to ~~their~~ places to which they belonged such as Kūfah and Bagdād and according to the crafts which they pursued such as  
-2-  
tailors, butchers and merchants.

He has passed judgement on the character and scholarship of the entry e.g. where he discusses Abū 'Abbās 'Ummar Bin 'Abd-Allāh he says, "He was old, of very  
-3-  
good character always engaged in worship". Describing Ibn al-Ashīb he says, "He was  
-4-  
a truthful and a trustworthy person".

Al-Sam'ānī has appended orthographical notes to names, tribes, places etc. where there have been two versions of the pronunciation for a particular person or place, he has preferred one and indicated the reasons for doing so.

- 
1. Al-Sam'ānī: Kitāb al-Ansāb: Vol: I: PP: 6.
  2. Ibid: PP: 31.
  3. Ibid: PP: 19.
  4. Ibid: PP: 280.



While describing places, he has given a precise but elaborate description of its geographical position. <sup>-1-</sup> About Al-Aylī he says, " This city is on the bank of Red Sea to the side of Egypt". Describing al-Ḥāqī he says, " One who entered it said, he had never seen a city more beautiful and charming than this". It is a valley whose length is nearly two Farsakh. In its mountains are (mines) of gold and silver. Its towns and villages have ~~in~~ flowing water and greenery ( in <sup>-2-</sup> abundance".)

---

1. Al-Sam'ānī: Kitāb al-Ansāb: Vol: I: PP: 409.

2. Ibid: PP: 412.

\*\*\*\*\*

AL MUHAMMADŪN MIN AL SHU'ARĀ' BY JAMĀL AL DĪN AL QIFTĪ

L I F E

Born with a silver spoon in his mouth, Jamāl Al-Dīn Abū al-Hasan 'Abī bin Yūsuf al-Qiftī saw the light of the day in the year 568 AH in Qift, which was a centre of learning in those days and Jamāl al-Dīn had his due share from it. Since his father was a governor al-Qiftī had to change places with the change of places of posting of his father and this provided a chance to him to contact 'Ulamā' of great repute of those places. He was so enthusiastic to buy books for ~~his~~ his personal library that even 'Ulamā' like al-Safī and others of ~~his~~ his rank paid a visit to him and benefited from his library. He held the post of a councillor to the King for forty years. He died in Halab in 646 AH. He had as many as twenty six books to his credit but only three of them have survived. One of them is al-Muhammadūn Min al Shu'arā' which has been written between 626 - 646 AH.

AL MUHAMMADŪN MIN AL-SHU'ARĀ'.

This biographical dictionary, as the name suggests, contains biographical accounts of all those poets - Jāhili, Rāshidi, Umayyad, 'Abbāsīd and Ayyūbite (up to his time) - the first component of whose names was Muhammad. Chronological order has been ~~not~~ observed in the description of the poets with a conscious effort to describe those poets in the first place whose fathers' names first component corresponded with those of their own names. Afterwards, alphabetical order has been observed. The name Muhammad was loved by Muslims and cherished by Jāhili people as well and this fact induced al-Qiftī to compile this work and name it al-Muhammadūn Min al-Shu'arā'.

While describing an entry al-Qiftī has recorded relevant information about his life, account of his knowledge, parents, surname, title, his position in

1. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qiftī: Al-Muhammadūn Min al-Shu'arā': Vol. I: PP: 44.
2. Ibid: PP: 49.
3. Ibid: PP: 51.
4. Ibid: PP: 11.

society, attachment with different people and <sup>and</sup> ~~Amir~~ has passed a judgement on his virtues. He has given a selection of his verses which ~~he~~, he thought, were representative of his poetry.

The selections included in the book have made it an anthology of poetry, literature, history, biography, idioms and maxims. It contains specimen of al - Hamāsah, al-Fakhr, al-Madīh, al-Wasf, al-Ikhwāniyāt, al-Marāthī, Gazal, al-Nasīb, al-Shikwah, al-'Itāb, al-Hikam and al-Zuhdiyyāt etc.

A conscious attempt has been made to link biography with history and while doing so, historical method has been employed in gaining deep insight into the events and factors which shaped the personality of the entry and, as such, had an effect on his poetry. Al-Qiftī's extra-ordinary scholarship placed him in a ~~much~~ better position to pass judgement to this effect.

Real scholarship of the compiler of a biographical dictionary comes to the fore in his choice of selection of men and material. But, in the present case, the author was left with no choice as far as selection of men was concerned, because he had taken it on himself to describe all the poets with Mohammad as first component of their name. It is where the ~~the~~ selection of material and apportioning shorter or longer portions of his book to the entry comes to the fore and we recognise the merit of al-Qiftī and his high taste as a critic. He has devoted as many as twenty nine pages to Ibn Shibl al-Bagdādī and has quoted as many as two hundred fifty ~~composed~~ verses composed by him. On the other hand, he has not quoted more than a couplet of many poets of a lesser degree.

But this should not blind us to the fact that he has quoted most objectionable and obscure type of verses <sup>in</sup> of the chapters entitled al-Nasīb (Love poetry)

- 
1. Jamāl al-Dīn Qiftī: *Al-Muhamadūn Min al-Shu'arā'*: Vol: I: PP: 6.
  2. Ibid: PP: 10.
  3. Ibid: PP: 16.
  4. Ibid: PP: 355-383: Vol: II.

Hajw (Satire) and this selection has generated bitter criticism against him by  
 • -1-  
 the 'Ulamā'. The alphabetical order in the names of the poets fathers has not  
 been sometimes, strictly adhered to.

Judging as a whole, al Muḥammadūn Min al-Shu'arā' occupies a conspicuous place  
 among the biographical dictionaries of this type. This place is not only due to it  
 because of the men and material discussed in the book but also because it has ~~not~~  
 laid the basis of many principles of literary criticism that guided later scholars  
 in the field. Leaving aside some of the minor draw backs in the selection and  
 presentation of poetry in 'Nāsib' and 'Hajw' the author and compiler, al Qiftī has  
 exhibited his high taste and scholarship in its compilation. His personality is  
 glaringly visible throughout the book. This honour he shares with only a limited  
 number of such writers and compilers.

---

1. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qiftī: Al-Muḥammadūn Min al-Shu'arā': Vol: I: PP: 30.

\*\*\*\*\*

MU'JAM AL UDABĀ' BY YĀQŪT AL - RŪMĪ.

{ L I F E }

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Yāqūt bin 'Abd Allāh was born in Rūm in 575 AH and while he was still a boy of three, was sold in a Market of Basrah and bought by a philanthropist 'Askar bin Abī Nasr Ibrāhīm al-Hamavī - hence his surname al-Hamavī. He tried very much to change his name from Yāqūt to Yāqūb, but could not help being called by the people by his original name. At the age of twenty one, his master freed him and he visited many places to acquire more knowledge in various branches of the Muslim Sciences. Later his ~~master~~ master recalled him and gave him some money to conduct independent business. His anti 'Alī views kept him ~~for~~ fleeing for the most part of his matured life. He ~~did~~ died in Halab on Ramadān 20, 626 AH/1229 AD and was buried there.

MU'JAM AL UDABĀ'

In the foreward to his book Yāqūt says, " I have named this book Irshād al-Arīb Ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb". But this name was not ~~not~~ adopted by the later 'Ulamā' who, seeing in it the account of men of letters, named it Mu'jam al-Udabā'. Ibn Khallikān was the first to name it in this manner and it came to be known by this name since then.

Yāqūt has composed this gigantic book purely and perfectly out of love for literature which emanates from his deep attachment to religion and the primary motive behind the compilation has been to enable the reader to place himself in a better position to understand the religion. He says, " Although it would be better to devote one's entire life to religion, yet other branches of knowledge should ~~be~~ also be allowed to flourish, especially since the possessor of this craft can attain power as well as consummate his knowledge of Islam. A knowledge of grammar would enable one to read the Qurān properly and thus avoid unbelief".

The entries in the book have been arranged in alphabetical order. First the name of the person concerned and that of his father has been given. If both of them correspond with that of the other entry, then dates of birth and death would be considered in giving preference to one over the other. In the case of surnames the first component i.e. Abū, has not been taken into consideration. For example, <sup>-1-</sup>Abū Bakr starts with Bakr. Total entries in the book number one thousand & fourteen

As far as the selection of entries is concerned, they include grammarians, lexicographers, genealogists, prominent reciters of the Qurān, historians and such <sup>-2-</sup>others. In fact, those prominent writers have found place in the book who were predominantly prose writers and those who were poets ~~had~~ have been mentioned in a different ~~Mujam~~ <sup>-3-</sup>book Mujam al-Shu'ra' which is not extant.

The book ~~which~~ is ~~not extant~~ all inclusive as far as places, sects, religions and sexes are concerned. Any prominent man of letters belonging to any place or sect whom he could contact or about whom he could hear from any authentic source, <sup>-4-</sup>or of whom he could read has been included in the book.

He has devoted two full chapters to the description of quality and pre-eminence of literature and men of letters. In ~~some~~ of them he has dis-approved of ignorance and the ignorant and ~~the~~ in the other has eulogised 'Ilm ar Riwayah (Science of Narration). He has quoted relevant prose, poetry and events in support of his arguments in both the chapters.

He has faithfully followed the Asnad system in quoting the relevant information about the entry; a precedence set by his predecessors. He has left it to himself to judge which information is genuine and which of the narrators is truthful. But, in doing so he has faithfully followed the standard canons of criticism set by and thought to be scientific by his predecessors.

- 
1. Yāqāt al-Rūmī: Mu'jan al-Udabā': Vol: I: PP: 51.
  2. Ibid: PP: 48-49.
  3. Ibid: PP: 50.
  4. Ibid: PP: 51-52.

The trend started by al-Qiftī in subjecting the scholarship of the entry not merely to one's <sup>taste</sup>, but to some definite principles laid down by the author himself as well, has been fully endorsed and followed by Yāqūt. In fact, he has discussed the basic principles of literary criticism in a bit of great detail. Since he has subjected himself strictly to these principles throughout the book, the book, as such, is highly stylistic, technical and of great literary value. This quality of the book has made it reference book and it has continued to serve as a chief source of information for the later scholars and writers in the field.

WAFAYĀT AL A'YĀN BY IBN KHALLIKĀN

L I F E  
 ■■■■■■■■

Shamas al Dīn Ibn Khallikān was born in Arbela near Mausil in 698 AH/1211 AD. He received his education at Aleppo and Damascus (1229-1238) and then proceeded to Cairo where he completed the first draft of his Biographical Dictionary in 654 AH/1256 AD. He served as Qādī al-Quddāh in Syria and held the post for a short time before his death. He died in Damascus in 681 AH/1282 AD.

WAFAYĀT AL A'YĀN

Ibn Khallikān, giving ~~the~~ reasons which induced him to compile this encyclopaedic work, has stated that his personal fondness for the reports of the past generations was the sole inducing force for compiling this concise treatise in the science of History. As far as selection of personalities for the book is concerned he says, "I have not limited my work to the history of any one particular class of persons as learned men, princes, Amīrs, Vizīrs ~~and~~ or poets; but I ~~have~~ have spoken of all those whose names are familiar to the public and about whom questions are ~~and~~ frequently asked". He has not included Sahābah, Tābi'ūn and Taba' Tābi'ūn in his work because "much has been said and written about them and their inclusion in the book would have meant to make it still more voluminous. But only a few Sahābah have been included as their description was most necessary for a majority of people".

A total number of eight hundred twenty six personalities have been included in the book and their biographical account has been given concisely because he says, "I have, however, related the facts I could ascertain in respect of them in a concise manner lest any work should become too voluminous".

He has arranged the entries in alphabetical order which extends to the

1. Nicholson: PP: 451.
2. Ibn Khallikān: Wafayāt al-A'yān: Vol: I: PP: 2.
3. Ibid: PP: 2-3.
4. Ibid: PP: 11.
5. Ibid: PP: 2-3.



second component of the name and where names of two entries were similar, their fathers' names have been considered for preference of one over the other so far as serial number is considered. Surnames have not been considered while awarding serial number to the entry e.g. Abū Tammām's name figures under H, his name being Ḥabīb bin Aūs. He has exercised his own discretion in grouping the entries under Ṭabaqāt. Qādī has been given preference over Shā'ir, Mu'arrikh over Sultān and so on.

This arrangement is full of inherent drawbacks, most serious of them being that it is not convenient for those who want to benefit from it. Many scholars and men of prominence are more known by their surnames or titles than by their original names. Few people know that Salaḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī's name was Yūsuf, Sayf al-Dīn Ḥamzānī's name was 'Alī and so on. This creates difficulty for the person of his choice.

In compiling the book he has hanked upon three sources of information :

- a) the books pertaining to the subject which he read and was eager to revise;
- b) the information which he collected from trustworthy sources and
- c) the events he himself witnessed and experienced. Hence the full name of his book 'Wafayāt al-A'yān Wa Anbā' al-Abnā' al Zamān Mimmā Ṭhabita bi al Naql wa al-Sam'aw Aṭṭatahu al-A'yān'. While quoting the source, he has not quoted the chain of narrators, has applied critical apparatus of Jarḥ and Ta'dīl and has recorded his own observations wherever necessary, e.g. Naql al-Ḥakīm Aṣḥābu (What Ḥakīm has quoted is more correct).

He has taken great pains in ascertaining and fixing with exactness the dates of birth and death and, in particular, the latter. Where he could not locate, its causes have been mentioned. Where more than one versions have been quoted, he has

---

indicated his own preference for the correct one. His eagerness to record only those entries in whose case the date of death could be precisely fixed, has caused many ~~to be dropped from the book~~ prominent men to be dropped from the book.

If the entry happens to be a man of letters, Ibn Khallikān has recorded his own view point about the literary value of his work. If he could trace out that some ~~part~~ portion of poetry or prose was attributed to some one, wrongly, he has mentioned the fact.

As far as other characteristic features of the book are concerned Ibn Khallikān says, " I have traced up their geneology as far as I could; I have marked the orthography of those names which are liable to be written incorrectly and I have ~~noted~~ the traits which may best serve to characterise each individual such as noble actions, ~~single~~ singular anecdotes, verses and letters so that the reader may derive amusement from my work and find it not exclusively of such a uniform cast as would prove tiresome for the most effectual inducement to reading a book ~~as~~ arises from the <sup>variety</sup> ~~amplitude~~ of its style".

It seems proper to conclude the account of this work with the observation of R. A. Nicholson. He says, " The book is compiled in simple and elegant language, it is ~~very~~ extremely accurate and it contains an astonishing quality of miscellaneous historical and literary information, not drily catalogued but conveyed in the most pleasing fashion by anecdotes and excerpts which illustrate every department of Muslim life".

---

1. Ibn Khallikān: Wafayāt al-A'yān: Vol: I: PP: 3.

2. Nicholson: PP: 452.

SIYAR A'LĀM AL NUBALĀ' BY SHAMAS AL DĪN AL ZAHBĪ

L I F E

Shamas al-Dīn Mohammad bin Ahmad bin 'Uthmān al-Zahbī was born in Damascus in 673 AH, when Mamlūks were engaged in tightening their grip on the government seized gradually from the hands of Ayūbites. He got his early schooling at Damascus. In quest of knowledge of the Muslim Sciences he would knock doors of every seat of learning of the day till the number of his Shuyūkh and Shuyūkhāt touched the mark of twelve hundred. It was custom of the time and dire necessity of the student that compelled him to visit many countries for the completion of his studies and so al-Zahbī undertook a journey to Ba'labak, ~~Hama~~ Hims, Hamah, Halab, al-Ma'arra, Tarābulus, Ramla, Egypt, Makkah and Madīnah. On his return to Damascus in 699AH, he was appointed as a teacher in Jāmi' Dimasq. Ibn Taymīyah's influence was pre-dominant over al-Zahbī which later differences between the two could not eradicate fully. He died in Damascus in 748 AH/1348 AD. He wrote a number of books out of which thirty nine are extant and preserved in different libraries of world.

SIYAR A'LĀM AL NUBALĀ'

The book has been compiled in Tabaqāt which number thirty five and has been published from Cairo in fourteen volumes. The first two volumes have been devoted to the biographical account of the Prophet and Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn, but have not been published by the editor, Salāh al-Bīn, who thinks that they have not been written in a style other than the one followed by al-Zahbī's predecessors. Hence their publication would have meant nothing more than adding two more volumes to the book which is already voluminous. The third volume opens with the description of Ashra' al-Mubashsharūn bi al-Jannah and

1. Siyyaru-A'lām al-Nubalā': Vol: I: PP: 17.
2. Ibid: PP: 18.
3. Ibid: PP: 21-23.
4. Ibid: PP: 25-35.
5. Ibid: PP: 40.

and the last entry in the last volume is of Sultān Mansūr 'Alī bin 'Abd al-Mu'iz Aibak (d:700 AH/1299 AD). The author completed the first draft of the book in 739 AH.

Al-Zahbī has taken a conscious and strenuous venture in making the book inclusive as well as exclusive. It is inclusive in the sense that entries include the Prophet, Caliphs, Companions, Tabī'ūn, Taba' Tabī'ūn, Kings, Poets, 'Ulamā', men of letters, grammarians, lexicographers, historians, reciters of the Qurān, Jurists, Warriors and the like from all parts of the Mu'allim world, and exclusive in the sense that only most prominent of them, as the title of the book suggests, have been chosen. Care has been taken to do justice to the title of the book.

The Serial order to the personalities of the book has been arranged Tabaqāt wise and strictly alphabetically. Name, father's name, brief genealogical account, tribe and place of residence have been mentioned in this order and then the biographical account follows.

The information about the personalities is usually confined to dates of birth and death, account of some of the most important events in their life and the names of books written by them. Excerpts from their writings have also been given. A great literary genius has been manifested in the authoritative criticism of the masterpieces quoted. In judging historical facts, great insight of a historian has been exhibited. As such, multi faceted personality of the compiler is represented in the book.

Al-Zahbī, being an eminent Muhaddith, has preferred to follow all the formalities of art and to employ all those critical apparatus faithfully on which the main structure of 'Ilm al-Hadīth and 'Ilm al-Rijāl, constructed - Asnād and Jarh and Ta'dīl. The Hadīth "Place men in their proper ranks", has remained predominant over al-Zahbī's mind throughout the book and it is why we see him passing comments on the character and achievements of the personalities described in the book. While describing Caliphs, Companions, Tabī'ūn and Taba Tabī'ūn a great care has been taken to record with 'S\_nad' what has been narrated by them from the Prophet. This has given the book added value and importance.

FAWĀT AL WAFAYĀT BY AL KUTUBĪ

~~XXXXX~~

Paper manufacturer and copyist Mohammad bin Shākīr bin Ahmad al-Kutubī (d:764 AH/1363 AD) has compiled his book Fawāt al-Wafayāt (Missing link of Wafayāt al-A'yān), as the name suggests, to ~~not~~ give biographical sketches of all those prominent people who could not find place in Wafayāt al-A'yān either, because the author deliberately dropped them as he could not ascertain their date of death or because he could not accumulate much information about them or

-1-

because of both the factors.

The book contains biographical sketches of eight hundred forty six entries consisting of all categories such as Kings, Princes, Scholars, Poets, Qādīs', Warriors, Traduḡlatists, narrators and covers all the periods upto his own age and all the areas of the Muslim World. Hence the book is inclusive to the extent of providing the missing links of Wafayāt al-A'yān.

Al-Kutubī is clear in his mind about the subject matter and the importance of the book-He has said, " History is a mirror of ages for him who ponders over it and a shining lamp for him who, with deep insight, is eager to gain from the

-2-

experiences of the past nations.

The author does not employ system of Asnād in recording the information. Instead, the direct method i.e. naming the original source only, has been adopted. This ~~does~~ has saved the reader from much inconvenience. The entries of the book have been alphabetically arranged including father's name as well.

The unique quality of the book lies in its comprehensiveness as it covers many a prominent persons who could not find place in any of the biographical

---

1. Fawāt al-Wafayāt: Vol: I: PP: 1-2.

2. Ibid: PP: 1.

dictionaries written before al-Kutubī. And, in case, the biographical account of any entry included in the book is found any where else and the author has thought it to be insufficient, mention of the fact has been made and necessary information appended.

Since the book is a supplement of Wafayāt al-A'yān, most of the characteristics of the book are reflected in it. In every case the date of birth of the entry in general and his date of death in particular has been fixed with accuracy and where author could not fix these dates with accuracy, at least the period has been specified.

Where the entry has been a man of letters or a poet, excerpts of his masterpieces have been given, his works introduced and the author's evaluation recorded. Hence the work assumes literary colour - a quality common among nearly all such authors.

The biographical sketches are of unequal size, ranging from only three or four lines in which one or two verses of the entry have been quoted to scores of pages.

Throughout the book the reader can find al-Kutubī much concerned with highlighting his hero's piety, broadmindedness, scholarship, generosity, talent, intelligence - in fact all that is included in Virtue - to inspire the reader and to induce him to follow the path. All this has been done with precision and accuracy. Nowwithstanding the fact that the work is a completion of Wafayāt al-A'yān which compelled the author to restrict himself to the adoption of the same style and manner of expression as adopted by Ibn Khallikān, one can discern a more stylistic and technical approach in the book, to be natural as it is a later attempt and completion of the task undertaken by Ibn Khallikān.

1. Fawāt al-Wafayāt: Vol: I: PP: 4.

2. Ibid: Examples entries Nos. 40, 47, 123 etc.

3. Examples entries Nos. 34, 123 etc.

AL WAFĪ BI'L WAFAYĀT BY AL SAFDĪ

LIFE

Khalīl bin Aibak bin 'Abd Allāh al-'Adīl Salāh al-Dīn al-Safadī Abū al-Safā was born in Safad in 696 or 697 AH. Though he was very much inclined towards the study of literature, yet he could not get an opportunity to do so for a considerable number of years. The opportunity, however, was provided by the death of his father when al-Safadī was twenty years old. He undertook an extensive journey of Egypt and Syria during which he collected the material for his great work, al-Wafī bi al-Wafayāt, which he compiled in nearly thirty volumes. He held many government posts in Safad, Cairo and Damascus and his relations with his people were very cordial. He died in Damascus, Sha'bān 10,764/1363 AD.

AL WAFĪ BI AL WAFAYĀT

The book contains biographical accounts of 1954 prominent people; men and women; Muslims and non-Muslims; from all parts of Muslim world and all branches of life such as Caliphs, Sahābah, Tabī'un, Tabā' Tabiūn, Commanders, intellectuals, Kings, Courtisans, Qādīs, governors, ministers, reciters, traditionalists, Jurists, pious men, reformers, grammarians, men of letters, poets, physicians, philosophers and the like. He arranged the entries in alphabetical order including their father's name.

To al-Safadī human nature does not vary and, as such, reading the events of the past means to enable men to relive their lives by sharing the experiences gained by the men of the past generations in various fields of life. Study of history in its right perspective enables the reader to add firmness and determination to his character, because in the study of past ~~includes~~ events is a <sup>moral</sup> ~~normal~~ <sup>lesson</sup> for those who know. While reading between the lines we can discern the motive which ~~induced~~ induced al-Safadī to compile his gigantic Biographical Encyclopaedia.

1. Al-Safadī: Al-Wafī bi al-Wafayāt: Vol: I: PP:

2. Ibid: PP:

3. Ibid: PP: 5-6-

4. Ibid: PP: 5-9.

Al-Safadi holds a conspicuous position among the biography writers as he had devoted forty seven pages of his book to useful discussion of various branches of knowledge connected, in one or the other way, with the art of historiography and its development, <sup>-1-</sup> the names of the books and their authors, relations of genealogy with historiography benefits of history and the art of historiography. Quoting al-Subki, he says about the qualities which a historian must have, "He must be truthful, accurate in citing his authorities, cognizant, where possible, of the life of the entry, eloquent, imaginative enough to recreate in his mind the life of the man and ~~there~~ to express it faithfully, free from personal whims, <sup>-2-</sup> just and able to control his own likes and dislikes.

For every entry in the book, he has taken great pains in consulting the available records and examining the reports of the people to fix, with utmost possible accuracy; his date of death. He is himself ~~praised~~ proud of this quality of the book when he says, "I have scarcely dropped the date of death of <sup>-3-</sup> any person".

The book ~~is~~ opens with the biographical and geneological description of the Prophet but the description ~~of~~ <sup>-4-</sup> is of a very concise nature as he thinks <sup>-5-</sup> that much has already written on the subject and this is why he has narrated <sup>-6-</sup> "only that part of his life the description of which was most necessary".

Where the entry is a man of letters or a poet, excerpts of unequal length from his writings have been given in order to help the reader to form his own opinion about his literary worth. But this did not stop him from recording his personal observation.

Al-Safadi has used choicest words in describing the personalities included

- 
1. Al-Safadi: Al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat: Vol: I: PP: 47-55.
  2. Ibid: PP: 47-55.
  3. Ibid: PP: 6.
  4. Ibid: PP: 55-97.
  5. Ibid: PP: 7.
  6. Ibid: PP: 8.



in his work. This he ~~has~~ has done to make his description forceful and his style absorbing. Though the adoption ~~has been~~ of Jarh and Ta'dil and linking biography with historiography with pronounced emphasis has given his writings a serious colour, yet his characterisation is much better than that of his predecessors. His eagerness to recreate in his mind the personality of his hero has helped him in avoiding dryness of style and carting all his subjects in the same mould which we often see in the works of many of his predecessors.

\*\*\*

L I F E

Ahmad bin 'Alī, known as Ibn Hājir al-Asqalānī, was born on Sha'ibān 22, 773 AH/February 29, 1372 AD in Cairo. Becoming an orphan when he was only three, he passed in to the guardianship of his two affectionate cousins. At the age of nine he memorised the Qurān by heart and at the age of twenty three he mastered arithmetic, calligraphy, phonotics, logic, philisophy, lexicography, literature, rhetoric, prosody, jurisprudence and ~~the~~ other allied sciences. To achieve deeper insight in to these sciences, he toured many cities which include Hus, Alexandria, Yaman via Hidjāz and Syria. He held post of Qādī al-Quddāh in Egypt where he died on Dhū'al Hijjah 28, 852 AH/February 21, 1449 AD. He wrote hundreds of books out of which only few are extant and out of them only twenty seven have been published so far.

AL ISĀBAH FĪ TAMĪZ AL SAHĀBAH

This is a biographical Encyclopaedia of the prominent Sahābah. Ibn Hājir has noted with regret the fact that many spurious persons have found their place under the caption of Sahābah in the biographical dictionaries written by his predecessors and has expressed his resolve to differentiate ~~h~~ them from the genuine Sahābah. He has given a list of such eleven hundred persons to substantiate his claim. He has very scholastically and labouriously employed the critical apparatus of Jarh and Ta'dīl to come to the right decision. He has alphabetically arranged the entries in his book.

For the sake of conveniences, Ibn Hājir has divided the whole body of Sahābah into four groups. The first group ~~a~~ is of those whose association with the Prophet is established by their own narration or by the statements of others or by the circumstances which clearly indicate their companionship of the Prophet. The Ahādīth narrated by this group of Sahābah are, as per Ibn Hājir, to be consider as 'Marfū' <sup>1</sup>.

---

1. Ibn Hājir al-'Asqalānī: Al-Isābah: Vol. I: PP:

2. Ibid: PP: 2-3.

The second group of Sahābah is of those children who were born of Muslim<sup>1</sup> parents during the Prophet's life time, but did not achieve maturity till his demise. All such persons have been included in the list of the Sahābah hoping that the Prophet must ~~have~~ have seen them because it was customary for the Muslims to take their children to the Prophet so that he ~~may~~ may bless them. But the Ahādīth narrated by this group are to be taken as 'Mursal'.<sup>-1-</sup>

The third group consists of those Mukhadaramūn whose meeting with the Prophet could not be established by circumstantial evidence. The Ahādīth quoted by this group are also to be taken as 'Mursal'.

It is the fourth group which has consumed much of the ~~my~~ energies of Ibn Hajr as he has established with ample proof that many persons were wrongly considered to be Sahābah and, as such, were ~~ing~~ included in the biographical dictionaries under this caption by ~~this~~ predecessors though they were not genuinely so. He<sup>-2-</sup> has scholastically employed Jarh and Ta'dīl to arrive at the right conclusion in this regard.<sup>-3-</sup>

Fourth volume of the book has been devoted to the Asmā' and Kunyah of the Male Sahābah (PP:1-423), biographies of the women Sahābiyāt (PP:24-828) and their surnames (PP:828-984).

The book is rich in details and at the same time is precise and accurate and bears the impress of its authors deep learning in the field. A full account of life of the man, his education, occupation, habits, customs and friends is given to make it, as far as possible, a true estimate of his character. The characteristics of the book, keeping in view the age in which its author lived, are really marvellous and cannot be overlooked by a reader.

In distinguishing genuine Sahābah from spurious ones, Ibn Hajr has rendered a singular service to the biographical literature and to 'Ilm al Hādīth. Besides

---

1. Ibn Hajr al-'Asqalānī: Al-Isābah: Vol: I: PP: 4-5.

2. Ibid: PP: 6.

3. Ibid: PP: 2-3.

giving biographical description of the entries, his main ~~work~~ job has been to sift the Marfū' Ahādīth from the Muraal ones. The credit for it undoubtedly goes to him and if he has claimed it, though in humble way he really deserves it. He says, "As regards the introduction of this fourth category, I do not know any one who has undertaken the job before me or any one who even many have  
-1-  
thought of it".

---

1. Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani: Ah-Isabah: Vol: I: PP: 6.

\*\*\*\*\*

AL DAW' AL KAKHAK LĀMI' LI AHAL AL QARN AL TĀSI' BY AL SAKHĀWĪ

L I F E

Hafiz Shamas al Dīn Mohammad bin 'Abd-al Rehman al Sakhawī was born in 831/AH in Cairo where he got his primary as well as secondary education. To complete higher education in Muslims Sciences, he visited many places which include Syria, Makkah, Madīnah and Palestine and the number of his Shuyukh reached four hundred. During these visits he collected material for his books which numbered not less than thirteen. The most important and extensive of them all is Daw'al Lāmi' which has been published in twelve volumes. He died on Sha'bān 28,902 AH/ 1497 AD in Madīnah and was buried there in Janāh al-Baqī'.

AL DAW' AL LĀMI'

In the history of biography writing al-Sakhawī is the trend setter as far as confining such works to a particular era is concerned. He has done so because of the fact that much had been written from various angles on the prominent people of distant past and re-writing of the same material would have meant, at the most, a mere commendable repetition. The book, as the name suggests, is devoted to the description of the prominent people of the ninth century of Hijrah/14th and 15th centuries AD. Al-Sakhawī is conscious of the fact that God has not created all men equal in knowledge and that in every generation there are only a few to whom the others must turn in times of crisis. Since most scholars of his generation did not really deserve the reputation they had acquired, in his view it became imperative to put them in their proper place.

"This is an important book in which I have collected (biographical accounts) of all those (prominent) persons whom I knew and who belonged to this century beginning with 807/AH and which has ended for good. Such people (belong to the rank

1. Al-Sakhawī: Al Daw al-Lāmi' :Vol:I:PP:2-3.
2. Ibid:PP:2.
3. Ibid:PP:3.
4. Ibid:PP:5.

of) Qādīs, 'Ulamā', Piousmen, narrators, men of letters, poets, Caliphs, Kings, prince Vizirs; no matter whether they were from Egypt, Syria, Hedjāz, Yaman, Rām, Hind, East or West; be they free or bonded persons". And these intensions regarding the selection of people have been transmitted in the pages of al-Daw'al-Lāmi'.  
-1-

The entries have been alphabetically arranged and abridged forms of surnames, genealogical lines and tribes have been used in order to save the book from becoming too voluminous. Since all the entries belonged to the 9th century of Hijrah, so while quoting the year of any ~~some~~ incident or event, only first ~~first~~ two numericals have been given. For instance, if an incident occurred in 840, only 'Araba'in' ~~has~~ has been written, not Araba'in Wa Thaman ~~al~~ Mu'atin.  
-2-

Throughout the book, al-Sakhāwī seems much eager to distinguish reliable Rāwīs from the unreliable ones because, as he thinks, it is of added importance for the reader to know their real worth in order to judge the value of their legal opinions and works. To achieve this end we see him employing Jarh and Ta'dil very extensively without giving benefit of doubt to an entry. Persons whom he considered impious and insincere could not save their skin from the harsh lashes of his severe criticism which, at times, seems to have crossed the proper limits to enter the field of, what we call, scolding. Throughout the twelve volumes of his book, Ibn Hajr is the only person who could manage to save his ~~skin~~ skin from this scolding. It seems desirable to recall here that Ibn Hajr was al-Sakhāwī's teacher and commanded his great respect.

One important development which should not be lost sight of is that ~~in~~ biographical literature, at the time of al-Sakhāwī, had become of such an advanced nature that an entry in such a dictionary was considered to be a mark of public recognition of one's merit, more so at the hands of a critic like al-Sakhāwī. We notice him saying that many men of his generation earnestly prayed for death before him so as to gain immortality in the pages of his book.  
-3-

---

1. Al-Sakhāwī: Al Daw al-Lāmi': Vol: I: PP: 6.

2. Ibid: PP: 6.

3. Ibid: PP:

Although al-Sakhāwī has, by dint of his colourful style and forceful eloquence, tried hard to paint ~~his~~ his heroes in the brightest possible colours, yet his characterisation could not be ~~up to~~ upto the mark because of the fact that he was wedded to the Muslim & Sciences which demand gravity in discussion and observation of strict rules of description.

\*\*\*\*

NAZM AL 'IQYĀN FI A'YĀN AL ~~XX~~ A'YĀN BY JALĀL AL DĪN AL SUYŪTĪ  
66

L I F E

Hāfiz Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rehman al-Suyūtī was born in Asyūt in upper Egypt in 849 AH/1445 AD. He lost his father when he was only five years and seven months old. By this time he had already reached the Sūrah al Tahrīm and at the age of eight he had memorised the whole of the Quran by heart. At the age of seventeen he held the post of Professor and after four years he was appointed Muftī of Cairo. At the age of fifty six, in 1501, he was compelled to relinquish his post and breathed his last in 911 AH/1505 AD at the age of sixty. We possess the titles of nearly six hundred ~~xxx~~ independent works which he composed. This number would be incredible but for the fact that many of them are brief pamphlets. His works bear testimony to his great scholarship in the science of the Qurān, the tradition, law, philosophy, History, Philosophy and Rhetoric. Biographical literature had its share of his scholarship in the form of Nazm al-'I qyān Fī A'yān al-A'yān.

NAZAM AL 'IQYĀN FI A'YĀN AL A'YĀN

Al-Suyūtī has started his book with those Ahādīth of the Prophet which appear to him as approving of the narration of the past events. According to al-Suyūtī, we can relive the past and accumulate in our knowledge the experiences gained by the past generations in various fields of life by the study of the past events. As such, emulation of the worthy people of the past is of direct value in instilling firmness and determination in the ~~past~~ generations to come. He is very critical of those who are not in a position to distinguish between a Caliph and a commander and a companion and a Tabā'i.

The book is basically meant for the biographical description of the most important personalities of the 9th century of Hijrah (15th century AD), but some people who were ~~xxxx~~ born in the 8th century (such as Nu'mānī Shihāb al Dīn Ahmad

1. Al-Suyūtī: Nazm al-'Iqyān: PP:

2. Nicholson: PP: 454,

3. Al-Suyūtī: Nazm al-'Iqyān: PP:

4. Ibid: PP:

5. Ibid: PP: 1-12.



-1-  
754-852) and those who died even after al-Suyūṭī (such as Zakariā bin MOḥammad<sup>157</sup>  
-2-  
bin Ahmad (d:926 AH) have also found a place in the books

The entries have been alphabetically arranged and include jurists, Sultans, poets, grammarians, mathematicians, government officers, piousmen and also 'Asnāf al-Khalq al-Bāqiyīn', the attendants and others of the historical drama. -3-

Al-Suyūṭī has dwelt at length on how a historian - biography writer in his case - must make use of historical method for determining the truth in an account brought down to his time. His eagerness to present to the reader 'unadulterated, fresh and pure water' has prevailed upon him throughout the book and has induced him to employ critical apparatus of Jarḥ and Ta'dīl. This has resulted in recording of those events and that information only which has withstood the test of close scrutiny. -4-

The entries are of unequal length ranging from just a few lines to fourteen pages and include information about their names, surnames, tribe, years, of birth, names of their teachers, bibliography of their works and excerpts from important works. Then al-Suyūṭī has recorded his personal assessment about the character and scholarship of the entry.

Nazm al-'Iqyān is a worth while work in which social and literary atmosphere of the time has, very faithfully, been depicted. It is creative in the sense that in the selection of the entries and excerpts from their works a very high taste of literature and great appreciation of knowledge is manifested. Nazm al-'Iqyān has created a hall mark in the history of the biographical literature in Arabic as its author has, with a considerable amount of success, treaded the field of literary science while laying down the principles with whose help a historian can sift genuine information out of the incidents and events brought down to him. Here a conscious attempt has been made to link biography writing with literary sciences.

- 
1. Al-Suyūṭī: Nazm al-'Iqyān: PP:41.
  2. Ibid: PP:113.
  3. Ibid: PP:
  4. Ibid: PP:1-12.

AL KAWAKIB AL SĀ'IRAH BI A'YĀN AL MI'AT AL 'ĀSHIRAH BY AL GAZZĪ

LIFE

Shaykh Najm al-Dīn al-Gazzī was born of pious parents on Sha'ban 21, 972 AH in Damascus. His first teachers were his parents who helped him to memorise the Quran by heart at the age of seven after which, by dint of his hard work, sharp ~~intelligence~~ intellect and great endeavours, his performance in the learning of Muslim Sciences attained such a high degree that it proved to be to the best satisfaction of his teachers. He extensively toured Muslim countries and repeatedly went on pilgrimage where he would stay for quite long periods to acquire more knowledge from the great 'Ulamā' of Makkah and Madīnah. For twenty seven years he held the post of professor in Qubbah al-Nasr in Rum which post he was compelled to relinquish because of a semi-paralytic attack in 1054 AH. His literary career lasted throughout his active life and his works number thirty two. He died on Jamādī al-Thānī 12, 106 AH / 1615 AD.

AL KAWAKIB AL SĀ'IRAH

In this book of al-Gazzī, his entire concern is to commemorate the scholars who are the 'Kawakib' according to him. To this class does he devote his work for they are higher in rank than others and it is their memory among people which survives the vicissitudes of life and preserves the religion. To this class he has added Sultāns, high officials and prominent men of the 10th century of Hijrah and they belong to all parts of the Muslim World. But only those he could include in his book whom he could meet or about whom he could collect authentic information. As such, information recorded about most of the persons is first hand and of the others, a faithful reproduction of the books written by contemporary scholars whose debt he has graciously acknowledged.

1. Al-Gazzī: Al-Kawakib as-Sā'irah: Vol: I: PP:

2. Ibid: PP:

3. Ibid: PP:

4. Ibid: PP: 5-6.

5. Ibid: PP: 4-7.

As a token of love, affection, respect and deep regard for the Prophet and asprirng of Thawāb, the book opens with the Chapter Muhammadūn (those whose name contained Muhammad as first component). Then the rest of the entries have been alphabetically arranged, dividing them in three Tabaqāt;

a) those whose death occurred in between the beginning of the tenth century and the end of the year ~~th~~ thirty three ;

b) those whose death occurred from the beginning of the year thirty four to the end of the year sixty six and

c) those whose death occurred between the year sixty seven and the end of the century. He acknowledged that the book is not representative of prominent persons from all sections of the society, but at the same time asserts that he has not left out any one about whom he could collect sufficient authentic information.

Al-Gazzi has expressed his intention to record only the laudable (Māhūd) part of the personality of the entry and as far as the derogatory references about him are concerned he says, "I plan either to ~~omit~~ entirely all derogatory references or else ascribe them to those who imputed them in the first place without subscribing myself to them, because I think it is improper to share the responsibility in such matters by siding with any narrator

-2-

- though inadvertently. But this must not be taken to mean that he has not employed Jarh and Ta'dil in determining the position of the entry in passing his personal judgement on him. His desire to compile his Dictionary "in the style of Traditionalists". ~~His work~~ is an ample indication of such intentions on his part.

-3-

Every care has been taken to fix with accuracy his ~~date~~ date of birth and death and where actual dates could not be ascertained, the month or the year of the incident has been specified. Information about the entries consists of name, father's name, a concise geneological account, dates of birth and death, bibliography of books, excerpts from masterpieces - Prose or Poetry or both as the case may be.

-4-

1. Al-Gazzi: Al-Kawākib as-Sā'irah: Vol: I: PP: 6-7.

2. Ibid: PP: 7.

3. Ibid: PP: 7.

4. Ibid: PP: 7.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

Survey of the Historical Literature written by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn.

SOME OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS HANDICAP.

It is a bitter and painful fact of life, almost universally true; that an infirmity inflicted upon a person by some natural catastrophe or a calamity which can not be fully overcome, changes almost all traits of one's personality and makes essentially an introvert of him. The conscious or semi-conscious attempts to compensate for the infirmity results always in the deepening of the changed personality traits on his person. No doubt, it is a silver lining in these darkened clouds to note that such infirmities have, in many cases, sharpened some other faculties of one's personality. The attributes vary from person to person. As far as the infirmity of blindness is concerned, it is usually the sharpening of intellect, wit and extra-ordinary memory which compensates it. But as far as the limitations which this infirmity imposes on an afflicted person are concerned, they are much more. The Psychic shock up which emanates from his inability to see the outward world for himself is perhaps the cruellest repression imposed on the blind. The very idea that the outward world is something, good or bad, which he can never even hope to see for himself is simply killing. The attributes which compensate this infirmity, however great and rich they may appear to be, can never really make good for the loss. It is here that the infirmity develops in the blind the negative qualities of dejection, sense of dependence, "sensitivity" to even slightest remark, outbursts of anger on it if he happens to be <sup>an</sup> assertive type and hostile objection to it if he happens to be dejected to the level of depression. The development of these negative qualities makes the blind a negativist. His mind must always be engaged with one or the other thing to work upon. Otherwise if his mind is left without any work, it will - like an empty stomach - eat itself. The main reason of it is that when his mind is without any work, it will start introspection which will reveal to him how trivial and unworthy of life he is.

Tāhā Husayn has very aptly given the description of this kind of introspection and its outcome. Speaking of a blind person in this context and making a generalisation about his character, he says, "One's loathing grows little by little, until it becomes anger, ill temper and pessimism". In the case of Tāhā Husayn blindness becomes all the more poignant as he becomes blind at the age of three.

The negativism developed in a blind person as such makes him very cautious and mindful. He tries to be very assertive in his relations with others and carefully avoids to place himself in the position of inferiority. Tāhā Husayn, speaking about himself in this regard and, as a matter of fact, making generalisation, says "The most hateful thing to him was that he should ask anybody for anything". This in itself was the result of an inspiration he drew from his mentor (of boyhood and in early youth) Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī.

As far as Tāhā Husayn is concerned, these and other such traits were clearly visible in his character since the very beginning. As he had a strong and assertive personality, he always tried to see to it that his dignity was maintained. He went a step further when he harboured a longing in his mind to the effect that this dignity was recognised by others as well. He allowed no one - not even himself - as far as possible, to cast aspersions on his personality. Sense of vanity which almost dominated his character remained always a visible part of his personality. His assertive style of thinking; at home, at al-Azhar and in Paris; in politics, religious scholarship and social matters and on every occasion, is emphatic enough to explain his leaning towards negativism. His pleasure in denouncing everyone and hoping a mark of recognition for himself in return is yet one more indication for the same. The fact that he had numberless admirers throughout the Arab World and laureates in other parts of the world too, but no real and permanent friends, is one more explanation of this fact.

1. Tāhā Husayn: Min Ma'ā'id: PP: 151-152.

2. Al-Ayyār: Vol: II: PP: 33.

But it is a fact that though Ṭahā Husayn has always avoided to name his infirmity, yet he never conceivably denied it. While speaking of Abū al-Ma'arrī he makes some generalizations about a blind man which, no doubt, are his own experiences. As far as lack of visual narrations are concerned, he says of a blind man, "If he should attempt poetry or description, his deprivation will entail the poverty of his imagination and prevent him from evoking poetic and descriptive writers in their competitive pursuits, except as an imitator or a follower". When he tried to make comparison between Venice and Baynes, a record of some of his casual observations but soon reminded himself of his infirmity and hastily added, "I might wish to tell you about the art treasures in museums there are in this city, but I am utterly incapable of doing so (i.e. describing them), and I dare say that you are not ignorant of the cause of this incapacity".

These observations and limitations shall have invariably to be kept in mind while studying Ṭahā Husayn's works and regarding the ideas he has expressed therein. This will help to reach a realistic conclusion and to do justice to him. If these factors are lost sight of, the conclusions arrived at will, no doubt, be counterproductive.

Ṭahā Husayn's life and thought underwent many changes during different stages of his life. His style of writing, manner of expression, and the quality of ideas took a considerable time to get evolved. This, in fact, explains the validity of the opinions he expressed in the later stages of his literary career. The opinions he expressed at the later stage of his life can safely be said to be the crux of his research and scholarship. For the purpose of this topic it will be doing justice to Ṭahā Husayn to study his works or biography in a chronological order so that his mental evolution can be traced. It will also help in estimating the value of his style and manner of expression which achieved more and more perfection with the passage of time.

1. Tajdīd al-Fikr al-ʿArabī: 120-121.

2. In Baʿīd: 109-110.

Here it will help to recall the attachment which Tāhā Husayn had with the blind poet and sceptic philosopher of the Abbasid Period, Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī. Long back when Tāhā Husayn was very young boy and took meals with his family members, it suddenly occurred to him that if he took food with both of his hands instead of the one with which he used to take, how would it look like? Soon he translated his childish plan into action and this produced tremendous laughter from his brothers. His father, with a heavy heart and sorrowful voice, corrected him. Young Tāhā took it to his heart and instantly remembered the solution which Abū al-'Alā' devised for it when he, in his own time and in his own turn, had been cautioned by one of his pupils about the drop of honey yet wet on his chest. He at that time pledged not to take honey for ever and decided to take food all alone and Tāhā Husayn loved much to follow him. From here onwards did a mental relationship coupled with deep sentimental attachment evolve between him and the blind poet. At al-Azhar, Tāhā Husayn's attitude was in many ways in line with this philosopher. Tāhā Husayn's literary career informally began in 1907, when he wrote a harsh article against the then Rector of al-Azhar.

#### THIKRĀ ABĪ AL-'ALĀ'

The Egyptian University was established in 1908 and Tāhā Husayn attended it as a student from its very inception. Sayyid al-Marsafī induced Tāhā Husayn to change his subject from religion to the literature which he did. At the Egyptian University, when he got an opportunity to conduct research on a topic of his choice, his selection fell on Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī. Since the University was in its infant stage, the precedence had not yet been set to conduct research under the guidance of some teacher. Tāhā Husayn conducted research of his own, worked on the topic for a number of years and completed his thesis in 1914. He submitted the thesis in the same year under the title Thikrā Abī al-'Alā'. It was examined and the degree was awarded the same year. It was published in 1915.



Then it was published in 1922 for the second time under the title Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī al-'Alā.

The thesis was the first to be presented to the Egyptian University and Tāhā Husayn was the first scholar to obtain doctorate in literature. Therefore, the book was the trend setter of the method and manner in research for the future scholars.

At the University he was very much influenced by the scholarship, deep knowledge and urge for genuine research of the orientologists like Erno Leitzau, Santo L'ana, Muallim, Marjason, Louis Calceant and Lalle and he decided to follow them. In Dhikrā Abī al-'Alā, Tāhā Husayn has employed this very scientific method in analysing the life and works of Abū al-'Alā. He has conducted a wide ranged study of the social, economic, cultural, religious and, above all, historical conditions which shaped the character and thinking of this blind post-philosopher of Ma'arrah. Thus he has tried, according to his capacity, to write the book on scientific lines. He himself says, "Verily, this book and I do not claim any greatness or aspire for praise for myself by it - marks the beginning of an era of literary development in Egypt because I do not know of any book which has been written on this pattern and perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to say that I know of no book in Arabic literature whose author has written it according to rules and principles on which the Europeans base their works".

This being the first such book in Arabic literature, Tāhā Husayn has made this fact a justification for short comings, if any, in it and has tendered apology to the readers, because "It is 'Pūthih' (beginning) which will, God willing, be followed by others yet more perfect".

In the foreword to the book Tāhā Husayn has asserted that his views regarding Abū al-'Alā are completely objective. During this study he has throughout been guided by the Reason and not by Personal whims. Further he says that despite the fact that he now holds Abū al-'Alā in high esteem, despite the facts that he sees

1. Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī al-'Alā: PP:12.

2. Ibid: PP:13.

3. Ibid: PP:10.

close affinity with the majority of his views and despite the fact that both of them share common fate and common feelings as such, yet he has deep rooted differences with some of his views which he intends to elaborately discuss during the course of study. For example, al-Ha'arri's philosophy to denounce his ancestors does not hold ground with Ṭahā Ḥusayn, who says that this is the apex of scepticism which no sensible man can endorse.

Ṭahā Ḥusayn is of the opinion that we cannot separate man from society. In fact he is the product of society and it is society which moulds him and it is society which moulds his views. Therefore, when a poet or a scholar speaks it is not he but his society which gives vent to its feelings through him. Every action has reaction and the reaction on the part of writers and scholars elaborately depicts the society in its true colours. So when it is clear that man is the product of society, it becomes an obligation to study the different aspects of the society in which he lives if we have to come to a realistic conclusion. It will also help in understanding the traits which he has inherited. This fact has induced Ṭahā Ḥusayn to study the particular society and its history in order to reach to a realistic conclusion.

The first two centuries of the Muslim rule saw an ever increasing influx of the Persians, Romans, Indians, Berbers, Copts, Europeans etc., into the Arab land as a result of the enormous victories which the Muslim forces achieved and the prosperity which flowed from them. It is in these two centuries that the intercast marriages flourished so much that to trace one's genealogy had become a very difficult task. With the passage of time this difficulty enhanced till it became virtually impossible to trace genealogies with accuracy. Ṭahā Ḥusayn says that this is the main reason which withholds him from tracing the genealogy of al-Ha'arri.

It is nothing less than mental slavery of the literary historians that they link the history of literature with the history of the rise and fall of kings. The

1. Taḥḍīd Dhikr al-ʿAlāʾ: PP: 30.

2. Ibid: PP: 20.

3. Ibid: PP: 35-36.



Primarily this philosophy was the direct result of the blindness inflicted by the nature on him at the age of three but the subsequent political, economic, social and religious conditions had a further effect of deepening of this philosophy in Abū al-'Alā'. It is possible to imagine that had the conditions been slightly favourable to him, the current of his thought might not have taken this turn. Tāhā Hussayn himself suffered the same catastrophe, but thanks to the favourable conditions which turned him to be as we know him today. Conditions may not change the basic traits but their degree of intensity is directly linked with them.

In order to have clear ~~and~~ conception of the nature of scepticism which the events enforced on Abū al-'Alā' and the <sup>course</sup> of life which they set for him, Tāhā Hussayn has given a detailed account of the political, social, economic and conditions of the time.

Abū al-'Alā' was born in Ma'arraḥ al-Nu'mān on Rabī' al-awwal 3, 36 AH/973 AD. Ma'arraḥ was a village on the outskirts of Halab and a part of the domain of Abū al-'Alā' al-'Sharīf, the son of Sayf al-Dawlah. He succeeded his father in 396 AH and he was succeeded by his son Iḥṣān alias Abū Naṣr in 397 AH. -1- There was great enmity between the Romans and the Muslims and each tried to capitalise on the weakness of the other. Sayf al-Dawlah had kept the Romans under control, but his successors were unworthy of the throne and as a ~~consequent~~ result the borders of the state were thrown open to the occasional aggressions of the Romans. -2- Within the state the conditions were intriguing. Every one thought in terms of intrigue, riot, ~~and~~ and dissension. The condition of whole of the Muslim world was in no way better than Halab. No day was free from revolts being staged, loot and arson being committed, governments installed and disbanded. -3-

There is a close connection between the political and the economic condition of a place. In fact, both influence each other greatly. It will be more proper to say that economic prosperity is directly the outcome of political stability. Since

---

1. Tajdīd Dhikr Abī al-'Alā': PP: 50.

2. Ibid: PP: 50.

3. Ibid: PP: 50-52.

4. Ibid: PP: 68.

5. Ibid: PP: 69.

and stability was absent during the days of Abū al-'Alā', the economic condition of the people was very poor. The state exchequer had to bear the heavy expenses of war almost every year. Every war was followed by famines and draughts which claimed their toll of human lives. Economic disparity among the people was at its peak. Realising the poor economic condition of the majority of the people Abū al-'Alā' was visibly moved. He saw him forming adverse opinion about the wrong distribution system of wealth among people in this period.

The religious conditions of the people was yet worse and hopeless. The religion had become a code word for some rituals in which earnest was more important than creed. People were divided among themselves. Their practice denied the theory. Mosques had lost their credibility as centres of learning and had yielded place to unyielding discussions between warring factions. The irony of all this was that it was encouraged by the king for their personal ends.

The society which could breed these conditions could not but be any thing less than most corrupt, disunited and pernicious. It is but natural that the morals of the people in such society would have been a composite of caution, wary, dupe, pull, hatred, lie, trick, betrayal, slander and what not. Again, it was but natural that a sensible, sensitive and susceptible man like Abū al-'Alā' would get influenced by these negative qualities of the people. Against this social, political, economic, and religious background Ṭahā Ḥusayn has studied the life of Abū al-'Alā' and has rightly remarked that these conditions gradually brewed his mind for scepticism.

Ṭahā Ḥusayn has portrayed the literary atmosphere during Abū al-'Alā's time which was developing in such a manner which no preceding or later period could claim. A good number of literary horizons were successfully explored. Philosophy, history, arithmetic, geography and even astronomy were developed in an independent

---

1. *Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī al-'Alā'*, PP: 70

2. *Ibid*: PP: 71.

3. *Ibid*: PP: 72-73.

4. *Ibid*: P: 74.

5. *Ibid*: PP: 75.

6. *Ibid*: PP: 76-77.

7. *Ibid*: PP: 78-79.

8. *Ibid*: P: 145, 79.

9. *Ibid*: PP: 91.

sciences. Their progress influenced 'Abū al-'Alā' very much. But the major share of these endeavours fell to the side of literature and literary sciences. Poetry had such a wide spread growth that the philosophical poetry became an independent field for the poets which they successfully treaded. The originator of and the most successful composer in this field was 'Abū al-'Alā' himself. <sup>-2-</sup>Oratory, letter writing, prosey, rhetoric, criticism, comparative study, language, narration, grammar, rhymes and calligraphy also got their due share. The future works on these subjects <sup>-3-</sup>owe their debt to this period.

To judge the effect of the environment on the life and character of 'Abū al-'Alā', Tāhā Husayn has given a brief account of the geography of Ma'arrah al-'U'aniyah both as it was in the times of the poet and as it is these days. For the description of its geography in its olden days his source has been an orientalist, <sup>-4-</sup>and for the present modern day geography his friend, Zayn'īl Bak Rāfat who sent to Tāhā Husayn the written account of it and this Tāhā Husayn reproduced in his book. <sup>-5-</sup>He has also given the account of the occupation, manners, financial condition etc. of the people of place. He has not forgotten to give the meaning and root of Ma'arrah al-'U'aniyah.

Though Tāhā Husayn is not ~~exactly~~ in agreement with the claim that the Arabs have been in a position to preserve the account of their genealogical line because according to him, it was impossible in most of the cases due to the victories and their allied results yet he has tried to locate, as far as possible, the genealogy of 'Abū al-'Alā'. This he has done to see as to what hereditary traits he has ~~not~~ inherited from his ~~past~~ fore-fathers, particularly from parents. It would have been a <sup>-6-</sup>fruitless effort had he not judged every related detail in its historical perspective.

Throughout the book it has been Tāhā Husayn's concern to incorporate the philosophical sayings of 'Abū al-'Alā'. The name 'Abū al-'Alā' Ahmad Bin 'Abd-Allāh

---

1. Tajdid Dhikrā 'Abī al-'Alā': PP: 79-82.

2. Ibid: P: 91-92.

3. Ibid: P: 92-93.

4. Ibid: P: 107-109.

5. Ibid: P: 109.

6. Ibid: PP: 110-116.

was never endorsed by Al-Ha'arri as he thought it improper to ascribe surname which contains the meaning of sublimity and exaltation because man is, by nature, inclined to lowliness. Similarly he thought it unjust to derive the name from the root Hamd as the actions of man prove them unworthy of it. He chose <sup>-1-</sup> the name 'Rahīn al-Mahbasayn' (Mortgage of two prisons) because of his blindness and

confinement <sup>ment</sup> to his home. Later he added one more factor to this when he said:-

أنا في الثلاثة من سجونى : فلا تسأل عن الخير البتة  
لفقدى نألمى وزدم بيتى : وكون نفسى فى جسم الجبنة

(I see myself in three folded cage of blindness, confinement to home and my soul being in an impure body. So ye ask for no higher ideology)

The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that Tāhā Husayn has successfully indentified himself with the life and character of the blind post-philosopher. The blindness was a common binding factor between the two which definitely did its job despite the time gap of near about one thousand years. He has successfully ~~reconstructed~~ analysed Abū al-'Alā's character and has spoken about his personality traits. In fact, he has made generalisations about a blind man at a number of places. Abū al-'Alā brewed in his heart malice, hatred and ill will against people on the mere apprehension that they might be deluding, deriding or scolding him with postures which he could not see. He was never a contented man and he could never be. To see things for himself is a craving which accompanied him to his grave. Abū al-'Alā was away in Bagdad when his mother breathed her last. He tried hard to reach Halab before she was dead but could not. The prose and poetry composed by Abū al-'Alā as an elegy on her death would not have <sup>been</sup> so successful in arousing the sentiments of sorrow as they have been made to do by the expert pen or, in which Tāhā Husayn has presented them. He has fully understood his grief and realised the sentiments which this grief instigated in him and has <sup>-2-</sup> then has represented them faithfully.

Tāhā Husayn has detailed the factors which drew Abū al-'Alā yet closer to

- 
1. Tajdīd Ḥikr Abī al-'Alā, PP: 117.
  2. Ibid: PP: 118.
  3. Ibid: PP: 119-121.
  4. Ibid: PP: 160-163.

171

-1-

scepticism. His 'kik bli dness' was the chief reason. This was accompanied and strength-  
 ened by subsequent events such as his failure to achieve fame and money at Bagdad,  
 his deep knowledge of the treacherous attitude of the people, their negative think-  
 ing, inclination towards malice, hatred, lie, upon egoism, prejudice, bitterness, self-  
 centredness etc. In fact these and many other things prompted him to impose  
 solitude on himself and to desist from mixing with people. He knows that this  
 solitude may have been his calculated move to guarantee for himself the wide  
 spread fame which he in fact got in the later stage of his life. Thus his  
 resolve to save himself and his poetry from being subjected to 'tak 'ale' was the  
 direct result of the foregoing factors.

-2-

"Blindness is a weak spot and it must be covered" was the oft repeated  
 saying of Abū al-'Alā' which induced him to take food all alone lest any of his  
 unwarranted action may generate a laugh, a smile, a wink or even a sigh, adopt  
 seclusion, wear rough woolen garments, take ordinary food and spend his days  
 and nights in deep meditation. He was of high morals, pleasing character, generous,  
 merciful, very kind to weak, so kind that even slaying of an animal pinched him, of  
 good humour and hateful of double dealing. He thought men worthy of nothing except  
 hate and, therefore, he drifted away from those who wanted to come near to him.

-3-

-4-

-5-

-6-

-7-

-8-

-9-

In 398 AH Abū al-'Alā' migrated to Bagdad. Tāhā Husayn has given detailed  
 account of the social, political, economic, religious, cultural and literary conditions  
 of Bagdad at that time and also of the engagements which Abū al-'Alā' had had  
 there. In doing so he has heavily banked upon the information found in the poetry  
 of al-'Alā' himself which he has extensively quoted. Wherever he has differed  
 with other biographers of Abū al-'Alā', he has expressed his own view point and  
 substantiated it with both factual and circumstantial evidence. Tāhā Husayn has  
 refuted the oft repeated contention of Abū al-'Alā's biographers that he suffered  
 from financial handicap. Quoting many sources and mentioning the fact that he bore

---

1. Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī al-'Alā': PP: 164.

2. Ibid: PP: 164.

3. Ibid: PP: 164.

4. Ibid: PP: 163-167.

5. Ibid: PP: 180

6. Ibid: PP: 180-81.

7. Ibid: PP: 184.

8. Ibid: PP: 184. 9. Ibid: PP: 184.

10. Ibid: PP: 125, 134, 143, 150, 151 etc.

11. Ibid: PP: 155.



the expenses of his pupils himself, gave away money in alms, sent a pupil to <sup>172</sup>Walab to buy watermelons for him and his pupils, he has inferred that he did not suffer from financial hardship but planned his expenses well.

At the same time Tāhā Husayn has left many questions un-answered. When he did not go to Antakīyah and Lādikiyah, from whom did he receive education there and how was he ~~sent~~ received there? Had these questions been answered, they would have gone a long way in providing answer to so many questions about Abū al-'Alā's life and character that are yet un-answered.

Tāhā Husayn has tried to give an account of the physical features of Abū al-'Alā but in the absence of sufficient details the description has painfully been ~~x~~ below the standard. To rely on the dreams of some people in this regard does not pay in research which demands accuracy.

He has employed many words, in fact, many sentences, to depict a thing or a situation or a universal truth. This ~~unpleasant~~ lengthening of the narration becomes a cause of disgust for many of the readers. Describing the birth of Abū al-'Alā he says:-

"On Friday ----- in Ma'arah al-Hu'man was born a ~~stupid~~ child who saw the existence neither knowing it nor perceiving it. Not knowing what the days hide for him ----- good or bad, fortune or misfortune and ~~time~~ or ~~defence~~----- He came to the life and he was fully unaware of it. This world received him but was unaware of his personality, his traits and what good or bad he will face in the ~~world~~ <sup>-3-</sup> world". It is common with all, who does know <sup>at</sup> the time of his birth about the world and the complicated problems he may have to face during his life and about ~~what~~ does the world know, ~~about~~ <sup>at</sup> the time of his birth what good or bad is in store for him. Though such examples are not many in the book, yet how much ever they are, they disillusion most of the readers.

This brief survey of the book makes it clear that Tāhā Husayn's main

---

1. Tajdīd Ḥikmah Abī al-'Alā: p. 170.

2. Ibid: PP: 188.

3. Ibid: P: 116.

concern throughout the book has been to portray the environment with all its details and to see what effect it had on the blind post-philosopher. As has already been said, Tāhā Husayn says that man is the product of society and society moulds his life and character. But one would like to add that not the whole but part of the character is moulded by a society. If this point is lost sight of one would find it difficult to explain the course of action taken by many revolutionaries and reformers and the change of society from ~~one~~ one to another pattern.

### TAHAFUHUH KHALIDUN AL-ITIMAH'IYAH

In 1914 the Egyptian University decided upon sending Tāhā Husayn to France on the Educational Mission. Accordingly, he sailed for France and took admission in the University of Sorbonne, as already mentioned, after nine months he had to return to Egypt. Again he left for France and became a student of the Paris University. In these Universities he studied under the guidance of the Orientalists like Clots, G. Glock, Seimnos, Milo, Durkheim, Gaston Bougle, Charles Diehl, Lanson, Cassanova and Levy Bruhl. He undertook research on the social philosophy of Ibn Khaldūn and submitted the thesis in 1919 under the title "Etude analytique et critique de la philosophie sociale d'Ibn Khaldoun". He wrote the thesis in French. It was later translated into Arabic by D. Muhammad 'Abd-Allāh 'Umar and published in 1925 under the title "Falsafah Ibn Khaldūn al-Itimā'iyah".

The topic of the book suggests that it is a study, analysis and critique of the social philosophy expounded by this great medieval author of the 14th century AD/15th century AH and so it is. It came under our present study because Tāhā Husayn has given in it a brief account of life, character and works of Ibn Khaldūn.

While in Egypt Ibn Khaldūn had written a brief account of his life under the title 'al-Ta'rif bi Ibn Khaldūn' and this book has been the primary source of information for Tāhā Husayn. No ~~one~~ doubt, he has pointed out a number of exaggerations in the account at a number of places in this book, but that has not hindered him from heavily banking upon it as a primary source of information. As soon the book has assumed the colour of the criticisms of Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography. For example, Tāhā Husayn refutes Ibn Khaldūn's claim that the knowledge

acquired by him in his childhood was extra-ordinary. He says that it was nothing more than the one which the Egyptian youth of these days acquire. Undoubtedly, in respect of Ibn Khaldun's time the assertion is correct. Consenting upon his claim that he read the first volume of the Kitāb al-ʿIqānī, Tāhā Husayn says that it is an exaggeration while the truth is that he had only heard its name. Consenting upon the knowledge of Ibn Khaldun in the Fiqh, Nahw and Luḡah, he says that it appears that it appears that his knowledge in these fields was excellent and his perception was clear. As regards Ibn Khaldun's assertion that he left Tunis in search of knowledge Tāhā Husayn says that it was his fear of life more than anything else which drove him out of Tunis.

Since Tāhā Husayn was more concerned with the study of Ibn Khaldun's social philosophy, he has given only that account of Ibn Khaldun's life which concerned his social life, his connections with Kings and viziers, the posts held by him and the diplomatic missions undertaken and performed by him. As such, his political and social life has been discussed more than his private and family life.

Ibn Khaldun was appointed as Qadi al-Qudiah in Egypt. This necessitated the description of the working of the judiciary system in Egypt. Tāhā Husayn has given its brief account from the beginning upto Ibn Khaldun's time. After Salah al-Din's time the Shafi'i Fiqh was officially recognised and judgements would be passed on the basis of this Fiqh. So Ibn Khaldun also had to follow Shafi'i Fiqh in Egypt.

Tāhā Husayn has given an analysis of the character of Ibn Khaldun and has contradicted the view point of the orientalist that he had grown sceptic on seeing the deteriorating political and social condition of the Muslim world. He maintains that Ibn Khaldun was a contended man even after he suffered the heavy bolt when his family got drowned in the sea. Otherwise how could his adventures

1. Falaafih Ibn Khaldun al- Ijtima'iyyah: PP: 12.

2. Ibid: PP: 12.

3. Ibid: PP: 12.

4. Ibid: PP: 11, 12, 13 & 19.

5. Ibid: pp: 13-23.

6. Ibid: PP: 17-18.

with Taysir at the age of sixty six and only five years before his death be explained. Even after failing in this adventure he did not remain silent but criticised and made fun of Taysir and ~~his~~ Tatars. Ibn Khaldun was a great scholar of the Muslim World, an able writer and a capacious diplomat - a genius in every sense of the word. His love for his country and himself induced him to compile Rihlah Ibn Khaldun in which he has given an ~~some~~ account of his journeys and missions. <sup>-2-</sup> Taha Husayn has given a brief comparison between Rihlah Ibn Khaldun, Rihlah Ibn Batutah and Rihlah Ibn Jubayr and has concluded that Rihlah Ibn Khaldun is far superior than the other two. <sup>-3-</sup> As far as the family <sup>life</sup> of Ibn Khaldun, it appears that it was happy and prosperous. He was married and had children. He was conscientious, intelligent, witty and skillful. <sup>-4-</sup>

To complete the brief account of the life and character of Ibn Khaldun, Taha Husayn has given a sketchy introduction of his life and works. At the same time he has not forgotten to express his opinion regarding the worth of the books written by Ibn Khaldun. <sup>-5-</sup>

Many details of the life and character of Ibn Khaldun have, however, been left uncovered. No doubt, the subject matter of the work is not the life and character of Ibn Khaldun, there are many things which one has invariably to mention while giving even a brief account of his hero's life. At the age of thirty ~~three~~ two, Ibn Khaldun went to Garnat (Granada) where the Christian King restored to him his ancestral property. Taha Husayn says that thereafter Ibn Khaldun sent for his wife and children. But he has not where mentioned the age at which Ibn Khaldun married, the tribe in which he married, the number of children he had had and other related details. These and such other details are an important key to one's personality. But unfortunately they are missing in Taha Husayn's work. <sup>-6-</sup>

---

1. Falsafah Ibn Khaldun al-I'tisafiyah: P. 121.

2. Ibid: PP: 23. 23

3. Ibid: PP: 24.

4. Ibid: PP: 25-26.

5. Ibid: PP: 26-29.

6. Ibid: PP: 15.

This book consists of various articles written by Taha Husayn on a variety of topics all of which deal with literary criticism. These articles were published from time to time in a span of ten years in different journals and were published in book form in 1933. Taha Husayn maintains that the views he had expressed at the time of writing these articles still hold ground and he still continues to uphold them.

There are a number of articles on the comparative study of the poetry of Hafiz and Shawqi and these articles cover a sizeable portion of the book. The biographical accounts of the poets has been given very concisely in the article appearing towards the close of the book and written after the death of both the poets.

The very first article of the book deals with the development of the Arabic Literature in Modern Egypt. This, together with the sketchy account of the Arabic poetry in Egypt given as a prelude to the biographical account of the poets in some other articles, is designed to help the reader to have a clear conception of the factors which were responsible for the development of the Arabic poetry in Egypt on the right lines only in modern times. Unstable political conditions were the chief reason of this late development. It is against this background that Taha Husayn intends to study the life of these two poets and to pass a judgement on the merit of both without any fear or favour, attachment or detachment.

As in his previous works on biography, so in this work Taha Husayn has highlighted the effects which the relative social conditions had on the formation of the personality traits of the poets. Shawqi (B: 1868 AD) was born with a silver spoon in his mouth under the shadow of the palace where every facility of life was available to him. It is but natural that he had a superiority

---

1. Hafiz wa Shawqi: PP. 1-10.

2. Ibid: PP. 11-20.

3. Ibid: PP. 21-30.

4. Ibid: PP. 175-187.

complex from the very beginning of his life. Nation and national interests  
 -1-  
 concerned him very little. As against him, Hāfis (1187 AD) was born in an  
 ordinary family whose members had to toil hard to earn their livelihood. From  
 the very beginning of his life Hāfis knew that he could not afford to sit idle,  
 so he learnt how to apply his brain to the problems confronting him. This opened  
 -2-  
 many horizons before him.

Both of them were sent to Kuttāb where democratic atmosphere prevailed,  
 but it had no lasting effect on Shāwqī who saw it completely at variance with  
 his experiences at the Palace where as it influenced Hāfis who saw close affinity  
 -3-  
 between it and his home atmosphere. "It is from here that Shāwqī's personality  
 remained aristocratic despite the ~~democratic~~ democratic atmosphere of the Kuttāb and  
 -4-  
 Hāfis's personality remained purely democratic."

Later Hāfis was recruited in army and Shāwqī took to politics and both set  
 -5-  
 in the field of the poetry. Both represented their environments faithfully. People  
 loved the former and were amazed by the latter. When Hāfis died the Arab world  
 mourned his death with a sorrow full of love. And when Shāwqī breathed his last  
 -6-  
 the Arab world mourned his death with a sorrow and full of shock.

Against this background Fāhā Husayn has studied the personality traits of  
 both the poets. He says that Hāfis's character was simple and he had unmitigated  
 personality. This ~~simple~~ quality made him a beloved of the readers. His know-  
 ledge of the foreign languages was limited. He translated Oudipur into Arabic  
 but with great difficulty and had to take excessive recourse to dictionaries.  
 Anyhow, he worked hard till he achieved perfection in the art. He represented the  
 -7-  
 general feelings of the people in his poetry. As against him, Shāwqī's personality  
 was mitigated. ~~There were~~ were deep traits of the Turkish, the Arab, the Greek  
 -8-  
 and the Shārkasī characteristics in his character. This was due to the fact that

1. Hāfis & wa Shāwqī: PP: 183-187

2. Ibid: 188.

3. Ibid: PP: 188

4. Ibid: PP: 188-189

5. Ibid: PP: 189-190.

6. Ibid: P: 190.

7. Ibid: PP: 196-199.

8. Ibid: PP: 199.

in his life view flow the life blood of all these nationalities. He was well read, but and was well acquainted with certain foreign languages also, particularly French, but unfortunately it did not benefit the Arabic literature to the extent it was expected to do.

Hafis's association with religious reformers like Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh, Qasim Amin and Mustafa Kamil further cemented his bond with the public. His poetry is full of burning national sentiments but in Shawqi we see this sentiment very weak. Hafis spent last fifteen years of his life in the Egyptian National Library (Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya) and Shawqi drew closer to people in the last fifteen years of his life. As such Shā'ir al-Sayr becomes Shā'ir al-Sha'b.

It is in this way that Taha Husayn has made a comparative study of the life, character, personality and the achievement of both the poets. As already said, this work of Taha Husayn is more concerned with the criticism than with the description of the biography of the poets; so the biographical account has also become a part of literary criticism. At every step he has estimated the value of their poetry and the factors which were responsible for the particular type of poetry composed by each poet. Toward the close of the book Taha Husayn says that the both the poets have been important and potent factors in raising the pillars of our modern literary structure.

### 'ALA HAMISH AL-SIRAH

In the foreword to the book Taha Husayn has made it clear that he does not intend to write a book on Sirah in serious vein nor does he propose to deal with all the aspects of the Prophet's life. He does not intend to write this book for the historians, or the "Ulama". In fact he was much influenced by the study of Eliot and wanted to write a book in Arabic in which myth is revived after his style as it is the mental nourishment for many a people. He says that it is not true to say that everything must appeal to reason, because man's personality is divided

1. Hafis wa Shawqi: P. 201.

2. Ibid: P. 127.

3. 'Ala Hamish al-Sirah: Vol. I: P. 27. 2

between reason and sentiments. If the reason has to be satisfied, nourishment  
-1-

it should also be provided for ~~moderate~~ sentiments. Further by writing this book and by trying to revive the old literary heritage, Taha Husayn wants to inculcate in the minds of the readers the idea that everything ~~old~~ 'old' is not bad and everything 'new' is not good. The truth is that both have their own merits and demerits and what must concern us is the feasibility and ~~not~~ relevance of the thing. And as far as the <sup>old</sup> literature, its lang <sup>age</sup> is unornamental and its style polished. And this is <sup>Taha</sup> style ~~which~~ Husayn wants to employ while writing the book.  
-2-  
-3-

Taha Husayn says that he has produced the stories out of his own imagination and has felt no necessity to refer to the source where from their theme has been borrowed. But as far as the details concerning Islam and the life of the Prophet, he claims that he has strictly restrained himself from taking such liberty. In it his main sources have been Sirah Ibn Hisham, Tabari Ibn Sa'd and <sup>4-</sup> Farish al-Tabari.

As such it is clear that Taha Husayn does not intend to have a full, deep and comprehensive study of the life of the Prophet. The systematic order in the description has also not been observed. The first volume of the book, which appeared in 1937, is solely concerned with the depiction of the Pagan life. It gives a vivid picture of the social, political, economic and religious conditions of the Pagan Arabs so that one is able to understand the atmosphere in which the Prophet took birth.

The book opens with the description of life and character of 'Abd al-Muttalib the grand father of the prophet, who felt an ~~inst~~ <sup>inst</sup>igation to dig a well in the courtyard of Ka'bah where the 'Zam Zam' well is found. During this discussion Taha Husayn has given an account of many tribes of Makkah and their characteristics. The Bedouins had less respect for Ka'bah than the Makkans and the respect of the latter was also of commercial type. The tribes of Banu 'Abd al-Shams and Banu Har were wealthier than Banu 'Abd al-Manaf whereas Banu 'Adnan were more powerful.

---

1. 'Ala Farish al-Sirah: Vol. I: PP. 5-5.

2. Ibid: PP. 5-5.

3. Ibid: PP. 5-5.

4. Ibid: PP. 5-5.

5. Ibid: PP. 17.



-1-

than all other tribes of Makkah. Though 'Abd-al-Muttalib was poor, yet his word was law and people loved and respected him. The Bedouins were greedy, unaware, of religion and fond of wealth. They knew no power other than the physical and recognised no sovereign other than the powerful. The authority of Kahin (Soothsayer) was widely accepted and he was consulted on every vital issue. The society was men ridden in which women were forced to live a pitiable life. Ignorance was so widespread that even the sacrifice of human beings would be offered in consecration. <sup>to</sup> <sup>has</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>last</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>such</sup> <sup>an</sup> <sup>incident</sup> <sup>which</sup> <sup>occurred</sup> to 'Abd al-Muttalib whose son 'Abd Allah was saved from the sword at Kahin's suggestion to draw the lot which at last fell on ninety nine camels in place of 'Abd Allah. A full account of the Makkans going on business trips in winter and summer (Mihlah al-Shita wa al-Sayf) and the details related to them have been given.

The rivalry between the Christians and the Jews was so deep that it caused severe conflicts and wars between the two. Each time when one of the groups became powerful it attacked the other, massacred its followers and burnt their dwellings. Hatred bred nothing less than hatred and each confrontation led to another. In pure legendary form, <sup>to</sup> <sup>has</sup> <sup>described</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>expedition</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>Tuba'</sup>, the advice given to him by the Jew priest and his conversion to Judaism. This followed a chain of reactions on his arrival at Yaman after having covered Ka'bah with a silken Qilaf. The events assumed menacing proportions when the Jew King of San'a' <sup>to</sup> <sup>surrounded</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Christians</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>Hairan</sup>, <sup>who</sup> <sup>pitied</sup> <sup>them</sup> with fire and burnt alive not less than twenty eight thousand Christians who preferred this brutal death to changing their Faith. It was followed by even more disastrous revenge taken by Abrahah, a Habashi Commander of Najashi. As to all

1. 'Ala Hāriri al-Sirah: Vol: I: PP: 17-18.

2. Ibid: PP: 15-16.

3. Ibid: PP: 17-18.

4. Ibid: PP: 18.

5. Ibid: PP: 28-30.

6. Ibid: PP: 24-25.

7. Ibid: PP: 35-36.

8. Ibid: PP: 65-69.

9. Ibid: PP: 70-74.

10. Ibid: PP: 75.

11. Ibid: PP: 115-117.

12. Ibid: PP: 118-126.

181

this was not enough the actions of the Bedouins were drawing the ~~hollowed~~ Arab Peninsula nearer to the hollowed bank of the pit full of fire. These circumstances were such in which there was every reason to believe that either the human race would be wiped off the plane or some one would be sent to deliver the human race from this impending disaster.

And Lo! 'Abd al-Hattab is sitting in DAR AL-HANA'AH. He is very dejected and thinking about his son 'Abd Allah. Soon a messenger comes and delivers to him the news that Aminah has given birth to a son. This son, the Bahman Ad-al-'Alamin and the Prophet of the future, was named Muhammad. Taha 'Hurayn has described the birth of the Prophet with the details which nearly every muslim knows. Even his forceful eloquence has not been able to give it a colour ~~be~~fitting the occasion. Similarly there is nothing less new and fascinating in the description of the Prophet being handed over to 'Alinah, his foster mother.

The second volume of the book was written in 1944 and it opens in the court of a Roman governor appointed by Qaysr. A hot debate is on there between him and two of his friends who share the views with each other that the Christianity imposed on them by order of Qaysr is something cruel which does not <sup>away</sup> with their individual freedom. At a later stage they are joined by a monk who ~~has~~ clears certain doubts about the Faith which had crept into their minds. During the discussions the Monk says in an ambiguous tone that conditions had deteriorated to such an extent that they justified the appearance of that "Promised one" who would deliver the humanity from its present deplorable condition. He says that this he finds written in the scriptures.

The monk goes on saying that as human body is in need of food, water and rest to keep it in order, so the soul is in need of the Faith. Faith strengthens body and wards off fatigue from it, so does the Faith strengthens body and protect it from demoralisation. There are many things which can not be explained by reason, ~~however~~ nevertheless the continue to be reality and the same is the case

- 
1. 'Ala 'Arish al-Sirah Vol: I: PP: 147.
  2. Ibid: PP: 170-174.
  3. ~~Text~~ 'Ala 'Arish al-Sirah Vol: I: PP: 51.
  4. Ibid: PP: 53-54.

-1-  
with the Faith. One is bound to accept the Faith one day or the other as he  
can not afford to remain unbeliever ~~the~~ throughout his life with the  
pretext that his reason has not established its validity. He cannot ignore  
the Faith for long in the same way as he can not afford to continue to live  
-2-  
without food. One has to think over the matter because he cannot close his eyes  
before the hard realities of life and cannot excuse their results. His reasoning  
-3-  
power has come to stay to fight the falsehood and to trace out the truth. But  
yet before Allah's superancym everything, including this reasoning power,  
is minimal. God bestows miracles upon his prophet who exhibit them to the people  
to show and make them believe that their reasoning power is very weak as  
-4-  
compared to his command. And it is religion alone which trains people as to how the  
-5-  
Reason and the Faith can keep a just balance.

In fact the story of the second volume revolves round one Kalkarūtīs (a Roman  
and a polytheist) who is compelled to accept Christianity as a faith by order  
-6-  
of Caysr, but like other such people, continues to denounce it secretly. His search  
for the Truth and the later circumstances compelled him to renounce the world.  
-7-  
He lives in a Church where he has heard from Monk Bahīrah about a Makkah boy  
who, according to him was to be the last of the Prophets as he had all those  
qualities which he had read in the Scriptures and had heard from the monks  
-8-  
and the bishops. So Kalkarūtīs decides to accompany Bahīrah to Iraq but is guided  
-9-  
by some invisible call to go to Hidsjā instead of Iraq. He sets for Makkah but  
-10-  
is taken prisoner by a clan of Kalb Bin 'A'rah. Tribesmen force him to live a  
slave's life. He patiently waits for the news of the appearance of the Prophet  
-11-  
and always asks questions about him from every one who comes from Makkah.  
In due course of time his Roman name is changed to Sabihā by the people among  
-12-  
whom he is living. Meanwhile he develops acquaintance with a Shaykh from Makkah

---

1. 'Ala' Fārūq al-'Irāq: Vol. I: P: 55.  
2. Ibid: P: 56.  
3. Ibid: P: 49.  
4. Ibid: P: 62.  
5. Ibid: P: 63.  
6. Ibid: P: 1-38.  
7. Ibid: P: 39-66.  
8. Ibid: P: 67-70.  
9. Ibid: P: 80-83.  
10. Ibid: P: 93-107.  
11. Ibid: P: 107-131.  
12. Ibid: P: 123.

Zayd Bin'Aar, whom he finds a traveller of the same path. He wins for him freedom  
-2-  
and both of them set for Makkah but are staid in their way.

Tahā Husayn has given a detailed account of the Prophet's first trip to Syria at the age of twelve. In Syria Monk Bahisā hosted a lunch in honour of the Prophet's party. He saw the Prophet and was convinced that he had all those signs of the "Promised one" whom he had read in the Scriptures and heard from Monks and Bishops. He cautioned Abū Talib against any intrigue by the Jews against him and suggested to keep the boy under his veil. The second trip of the prophet at the age of twenty five as a selling agent of Khadijah was also been narrated, but there is such a myth around it that the whole of the description has been rendered worthless. We shall give its critical analysis after we complete the survey.

The third volume of the book was written in 1947 and opens in the house of Walid Bin Mugayrah. He is visited by his nephew 'Aar Bin Hishām. A hot debate is on between the two and the topic of discussion is the duplicity in the character of the Makkans who show great respect and regard to Ka'bah during Haj days and are most negligent to it for the rest of the year. They are corrupt in their dealings and are always after wealth - no matter whether the means are fair or foul. Talk of wine, food and dance is a part of their conversation and the reader is made to understand that these vices had public licence at that time.

At another occasion 'Aar Bin Hishām directs severe criticisms against the Qurayshites whom duplicity of their character and prideful vanity induced to refrain from joining 'Ujaj in 'Arnat and Mina. This they did to distinguish themselves from the 'edoune. But Muhammad (herein called al-Amin) differed from them and joined the Common Pilgrims.

But with all this 'Aar Bin Hishām (Later Abū 'ahl) nurtures in his heart a

---

1. 'Ala Hishām al-Ḥirah: Vol: I: PP: 124-131.

2. Ibid: P: 136.

3. Ibid: P: 67-83.

4. Ibid: P: 174-179.

5. 'Ala Hishām al-Ḥirah: Vol: IV: PP: 17.

6. Ibid: P: 15.

7. Ibid: P: 18-19.

8. Ibid: P: 12-20.

9. Ibid: P: 36-39.

10. Ibid: P: 37-38, 40.

deep rooted hatred against al-Ja'in because he had suffered a knee injury at his hands some time in the past and its scars continued to remind him of the incident.  
 The prophet's marriage with Khadijah, his installing al-Hajr al-Awad in the wall of Ka'bah and other such developments strengthened this hatred in his mind.

The Roman Proprietor of a wine shop later describes 'Aar Bin Hisham's character in these words, "He is most proudly, so ~~prideful~~ that it is about to kill him, so contemptuous that it eats his heart as fire consumes wood when thrown in it. With all this he is intelligent, eloquent and commands loyalty of his tribe. I perceive that he will be the most ardent enemy of this New Light!"

As such Tāhā Husayn has sought to give a general background of the Makkian society during the first forty years of the Prophet's life. As far as monks and Bishops, he says that all of them were eagerly waiting for the appearance of 'his New Light'.

Tāhā Husayn has very vividly given the description of the mixed reaction of the Qurashite Shuyukh when the news about Muhammad declaring his Prophethood reached them. The role of 'Aar Bin Hisham has been portrayed at length. While reading this description, one feels as if he is witnessing the scene all himself.

A series of characters, representing both evil and virtue ~~also~~ have been portrayed by Tāhā Husayn very successfully. 'Aar Bin Hisham was an emblem of hatred callousness, contempt, evil, sin, malice, etc.; Hamzah was Anad-Allah (The Loin of Allah) and embodiment of virtue. He later won the ~~most~~ covetous title of 'Aid al Shuhada' from the Prophet; Abu al-'Asahayn Ja'far was always at his wings off in the path of Allah. His return to Madinah was as joyous for the Prophet that he equated the joy of the conquest of Makkah with it.

Hadith 'Addas - the story of the slave who offered dates to the prophet at

1. Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah Vol: III: PP: 41-42.

2. Ibid: PP: 42.

3. Ibid: 43.

4. Ibid: PP: 47-2.

5. Ibid: PP: 45-50.

6. Ibid: 47-79.

7. Ibid: PP: 7-102.

8. Ibid: PP: 111-115.

9. Ibid: PP: 125-130.

-1- 85

Ta'if and accepted the Faith - has been narrated in a passionate ~~and~~ manner.

*has*

Tāhā Husayn closed the account of the book on a sad note, not because it contains ~~a heart moving~~ account of the death of the last son of the Prophet but because it depicts the scene of the court of a governor appointed by an Umayyad King. The governor is ~~now~~ busy in argumentation with a Muslim with whose efforts all the Christian residents of a village had accepted Islam. The governor, instead of being happy with the development, was very gloomy because it had ~~not~~ closed down the prospects of filling the government treasury with the income of Jizyah that was to be levied on and collected from them. The acceptance of the Faith had ~~not~~ absolved them of this tax. This criminal negligence and betrayal at the hands of the later Kings, when viewed in comparison with the sufferings which the Prophet and his followers had to undergo for the cause of Islam, makes one's heart to bleed. -2-

The study of the book (all the three volumes) makes it clear that Tāhā Husayn has sought to give, in the first volume, the general background of the Makkian society, its habits and rituals, in distant past upto the birth of the Prophet. Then the second volume is mostly ~~now~~ concerned with narrating the sad history of wars between the Christians and the Jews and the role of the monks and bishops. The third volume, for the most part of it, gives an account of the Makkian society during the life time of the Prophet. In this volume some characters are also depicted. As much the Makkian society has been portrayed with all its ~~now~~ relevant details. The pathetic condition of the society, the moral degradation, the unending chain of wars between the Jews and the Christians, the rule of power-hungry in the Arab Peninsula, the crumbling economic structure originally raised on the weak bones of the slaves this and much more - was foreteller of either complete destruction or of appearance of the 'Promised one' to deliver the humanity from its prevalent pathetic condition. The depiction of this atmosphere has been supreme at the artistic hands of Tāhā Husayn.

The characterisation has been upto the mark. He has ~~now~~ given sensual description of the characters with their minutest details in such a way that the picture seems

---

1. 'Ala Karish al-Mirah: Vol: III: Pp: 139-148.

2. Ibid: : 233-243.

to flash on the mind of the reader.

But this must be not be taken to mean that the book does not make its reader ~~stupidly~~ disillusioned at times or does not make him to ~~am~~ wonder about the conclusions drawn or the information sipped from the vast treasure of Sīrah. We shall point out a few of such instances.

The book is laden with synonyms. The same material has been repeated in many words and even in many sentences. Addressing his son 'Abd-al-Muttalib says,"

"My son I see not except that you love comfort and prefer comfortable life. All of us love comfort as you do and all of us prefer comfortable life as you do. All of us have been attached to our families so that we may almost almost forget everything else. But days warn the unmindful, awaken the sleeper and remind the forgetful person. I want to warn you before the days warn you, to awaken you before the happenings awaken you and ward off the narcolepsy from you before the accident of life do away with you .....".

-2-

Under the chapter al-Igrā' (The Illusion), Tahā Husayn has prolonged the erotic conversation between 'Abd-Allah and Fāṭimah al-Uṣayyid with the choicest words, the deep and burning sentiments and the depiction of the actions touching the boundary of rape. This has been done in such a way as if he was writing a romantic novel. There is no denying the fact that Sīrah wants its writer to be serene and sensitive in description but unfortunately Tahā Husayn has lost sight of it.

For the description of the stories Tahā Husayn has mostly relied upon a fantastic myths and on the narrations of Wahb Bin Munabbih, a Jahāliyyah Muslim, whose narrations the Muslim scholars term as biased and legendary.

The book covers only a few aspects of the Prophet's life. The first volume mentions the birth of the Prophet and his being handed over to his foster mother. The second volume mentions only the marriage of the Prophet with Khadijah. In the third volume, where he gives an account of the Prophet's struggle with the 'Mushrikīn', the description has been sketchy and scanty. He specified one hundred

---

1. 'Alā Ḥamīd al-Sīrah; Vol: I: P: 36.

2. Ibid: P: 35-53.

3. Ibid: Kumpleh: P: 113-114, Vol: II: P: 193-118.

187

thirty four pages of volume second for the account of 'Kal Karātīs' but he has wrapped up the description about the heroic resistance of the Muslims against the non-believers to Makkah at the time of its conquest in only <sup>-1-</sup> ~~several~~ <sup>three</sup> pages. Are we to infer that Taha Husayn was compelled to do so because the details concerning these incidents entailed no scope for juicy stories? The description about the Battle of Badr - the history shaping event - has not merited only three and <sup>-2-</sup> a half pages of description.

Most disgusting is Taha Husayn's stand about the Migration of the Muslims to Abyssinia which he, at one place, terms as 'feeling of the Muslims'. In fact, finding that the conditions were extremely unsatisfactory, unbearable and most hopeless and that the Preservation of the Faith was increasingly becoming a difficult task in face of the overpowering pressure of the Mushrikin, the Muslims longed for migration to a safer place and Allah Commanded them to do so. It is all the more surprising that he has given no place in his book to such an important event in the life of the Prophet as his migration to ~~Makkah~~ <sup>Medinah</sup>.

Throughout the book Taha Husayn has tried to inculcate in the mind of the reader the idea that the main - and perhaps the only - purpose<sup>of</sup> the struggle of the Prophet was to deliver the poor from the rich, the slave from the master and the weak from the strong. The third volume is excessively laden with this theme. No doubt, Islam is not against all kinds of oppression but not only a part of it. It has come to change ~~the~~ all the ~~oppressive~~ <sup>oppressive</sup> systems and to establish a society free of all dominations.

Personifying the Shaytan (Devil) Taha Husayn has attributed to him the knowledge of 'Ghayb' (concealed). He has described informing 'Amr Bin al-Harith that his uncle Walid Bin Ma'ayrah would be sending for him the next day. Whatever the power of delusion the Shaytan might be having, he has decidedly no knowledge of 'Ghayb'.

---

1. 'Ala Hamid al-Sirah: Vol: III: PP: 80-98.

2. Ibid: PP: 99-102. 3. Ibid: PP: 112.

4. Ibid: P: 141-142, 146, 148, 153, 163-171, 206-207 and passim.

5. Ibid: PP: 79.



The Muslim scholars are cautious in accepting as truthful all the information recorded in the old Sīrah books about the Prophet's business trip to Syria and his meeting with Nasīr monk as it, and ~~was~~, like it, is overshadowed by Isrā'īlīyāt. The myth related to it that two angels hidden from the eyes of the general people, escorted the Prophet, that a piece of <sup>cloud</sup> moved with him <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ ~~was~~ served as an umbrella for him, but remained unnoticed by his companions and that a tree in the church of Nasīr bowed before him, have all been subjected to severe criticism. If we accept this story as truthful then we would also have to accept narrations such as that Maysarah (the servant of Khadijah accompanying the Prophet in the trip), Nasīr, Khadijah, ~~and~~ Christian and Arabs knew before hand that Muhammad was to be their future Prophet. Not only this, but even Muhammad himself knew fifteen years earlier that he was to be the Prophet. But we see the Qurān refuting all this :- (القَصَص - ١٧) "وَمَا كُنْتَ تَرْجُو أَنْ يُلْقَىٰ إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابُ" -

(You did not hope that the book shall be revealed to you)

(الشُّورَى - ٥٢) "وَمَا كُنْتَ تَدْرِي مَا الْكِتَابُ وَلَا الْإِيمَانُ" -

(You know not what the book and the Faith were)

Then on the occasion of the first revelation the Prophet apprehended that something so frightful had happened to him. He beseeched Khadijah for help. She pacified and encouraged him till he overcame his shivering. Had he been knowing of his Prophethood beforehand, all this would not have happened.

But Tahā Musayn has described all the myth related to it as if to create something out of nothing.

The idea to make this book a myth has been so supermost in the mind of Tahā Musayn that he has not even cared to give dates of the important events. Even the Prophet's date of birth has gone unrecorded. This has created inaccuracy in the contents and looseness in the style of the book.

Source: Maḥūdī Sīrah Barwar Alam Vol: 17: P: 104-109.

1. Maḥūdī Sīrah Barwar Alam Vol: 17: P: 104-109.

Tahā Husayn, in the capacity of the Professor of Arabic Literature at Cairo University, had been delivering lessons on the life and works of al-Mutanabbi. In 1937 he went to France to enjoy his vacations. Before leaving for France, he made up his mind to study the life and ~~work~~ art of al-Mutanabbi. So in France he dictated this book in 1937.

In the foreword to the book he says that by dictating this work he does not intend to conduct a <sup>study</sup> series of al-Mutanabbi. Instead he wants to bring to the reader the secret as to why al-Mutanabbi is hailed by the <sup>-1-</sup> ~~ancient~~ <sup>ancient</sup> authors) and the <sup>Muhadathun</sup> (the modern authors) alike. Therefore, the readers of the book should not study it with the idea that it contains knowledge in its folds but with the clear conception that it is a book dictated by its author in his leisure time. <sup>-2-</sup>

However, towards the close of the book Tahā Husayn clarifies that in the beginning he intended to ~~study~~ study the life and art of al-Mutanabbi in a light vein but ~~was~~ when he made a detailed study of the poet he was induced to ~~work~~ hard ~~and~~ work and deep research. The first few pages manifest his original plan <sup>-3-</sup> whereas the later portion is the ~~the~~ fruit of his hard work and ~~his~~ research.

Tahā Husayn makes it clear that he had to change many of his previously held views about al-Mutanabbi as further research proved them to be <sup>ill</sup> ~~unfounded~~. Furthermore, he says that the views he has now expressed in the book might also be subject to change with the passage of time in case further research proved them to be <sup>-4-</sup> ~~baseless~~. He refutes the widely held modern concept that poetry or <sup>-5-</sup> prose is the faithful reflection of its composer's personality.

Tahā Husayn has divided the life of al-Mutanabbi into five ~~in~~ phases :

1. From his birth to his ~~his~~ association with Badr Bin 'Ammar;

1. Ha' al-Mutanabbi: Vol: I: PP: 5.

2. Ibid: PP: 6-7.

3. Ha' al-Mutanabbi: Vol: II: PP: 704-706.

4. Ibid: PP: 706-710.

5. Ibid: PP: 709.

2. From this time to his association with Sayf-al-Dawlah;
3. From his association with Sayf-al-Dawlah to his association with 'Aṣfūr;
4. From then to his ~~subsequent~~ fleeing from Egypt and
5. From his second association with 'Adir Bin 'Ammār and Khaliṣah Mu'izzah-Dawlah to his death.

Some haze, some mist and some ambiguity covers the early life of al-Mutanabbī. Literary historians know very little about his father, mother and the family background. Though some historians have said that his father's name was Ḥusayn and he was a water supplier in the grand mosque of Kūfah, yet they add nothing more to these details. Ṭahā Ḥusayn has made a deeper study of the only authentic source of information - his *Diwan* - and has come to the conclusion that there was something about the family background of al-Mutanabbī which needed to be left  
-1-  
ambiguous. This is why he himself could not boast of his family and was compelled  
-2-  
to leave Kūfah for Syria. This created an inferiority complex in him which he could  
-3-  
not get rid of throughout his life. This complex deeply influenced his literary career  
-4-  
-5-

Abū al-'Alā' al-'Aṣṣamī and al-Mutanabbī belonged to the fourth century of Hijrah. The former was born in Syria and the latter in 'Irāq. Both these provinces were under the domain of the Abbassids. While writing about Abū al-'Alā' in 1914 in his book *Ḥikmah Abī al-'Alā'*, Ṭahā Ḥusayn has given a detailed account of the social, political, religious and economic conditions of the Muslim world. Though this account was not with particular reference to Syria, yet the details hold true for 'Irāq as well. Anyhow, Ṭahā Ḥusayn has given a passing reference of the Caliphate government  
-6-  
which had to play a great role in the future life of al-Mutanabbī.

As in the case of his family background so in the case of his childhood, the literary historians are unable to give accurate, authentic and sufficient information. Here again Ṭahā Ḥusayn has used al-Mutanabbī's poetry to provide some

---

1. Ma'al-Mutanabbī: Vol. I: P: 27.

2. Ibid: P: 26.

3. Ibid: P: 28.

4. Ibid: P: 26.

5. Ibid: P: 24.

6. Ibid: P: 35-48.

some help<sup>191</sup> he says that al-Mutanabbī left Kūfah and resided with Bedouins because he had developed deep association with the Qarāṣīyah whose followers were abundantly found among the Bedouins. In addition to it al-Mutanabbī found himself mentally close to the overenthusiastic Shi'as.<sup>2</sup> Both these ideologies inculcated militant spirit in their followers. At the age of twenty al-Mutanabbī went to Syria where his main concern was to sell his talent to him who could pay the price.<sup>3</sup> Besides he would loose no opportunity to propagate his Qarāṣīyah ideology wherever and whenever he found the situation ripe.<sup>4</sup>

After evaluating al-Mutanabbī's life and poetry of this period, Taha Husayn observes that :

a. at this time his poetry was of imitative type in which more care has been paid to the maintenance of rhyme and metre. However, his poetic talent was steadily achieving maturity ;<sup>5</sup>

b. his poetry portrays him in melancholy mood, always depressed, full of ambitions but far away from achieving them ;<sup>6</sup>

c. though the philosophical poetry makes its appearance during these very days, yet it is simple, representing immature ideas of a twenty year x youth ;<sup>7</sup>

d. he had almost no regard for religious sentiments and at occasions he made fun of them.

Praising Muḥammad Bin Zarayq he says :-

لَمْ يَخْلُقِ الرَّحْمَنُ مِثْلَ مُحَمَّدٍ : أَحَدًا وَظَنِّي أَنَّهُ لَا يَخْلُقُ

(The Merciful has created none like Muḥammad and I think he will not create (in future as well) .

Rejoicing Sayf-al-Dawlat he says :-

إِنْ كَانَ مِثْلُكَ كَانَ أَوْ هُوَ كَانَ : فَبَرِّئْتُ حَيْثُ زَيْدٌ مِنَ الْإِسْلَامِ

(If there was some one like you or would be then I shall part away from Islam)

An important, interesting and thought provoking discussion about al-Mutanabbī

1. Ma'al-Mutanabbī, Vol: I, PP: 64-65.

2. Ibid: P: 67.

3. Ibid: PP: 96-97.

4. Ibid: P: 94-96.

5. Ibid: PP: 105.

6. Ibid: PP: 118, 121-122.

7. Ibid: P: 121-122.

rebellious views and actions has been given by Tāhā Husayn. These views and actions were the chief cause of sending him behind the bars. Al-Hutanabbī was a forceful propounder of the Qarnīyah Movement. Wherever he found a chance he instigated people to rise in arms against their rulers. Very often he propagated a fascist type of Pan-Arabism which denounced everyone other than the Arabs and sought the right to rule exclusively for them. More than all this, he ridiculed the basic Islamic principles, made fun of them and composed poetry in which he denounced the Muslims. Speaking about the Kufiyāt he says :-

يترشقون من فمي رشقات : هُنَّ مِنِّي أَصْلَى مِنَ التَّوْحِيدِ

(They sip juice of my mouth. In doing so they are sweeter than monotheism)

Again he says :-  
فَأَنَا فِي بَارِضِ تَحْلَةٍ إِلاَّ : كَمَا كَانَ الْمَسِيحُ بَيْنَ الْيَهُودِ  
أَنَا فِي أُمِّيَّةٍ تَدْرِكُهَا اللَّهُ : غَرِيبٌ كَمَا جِئْتُ فِي التَّوَرِ

(My position in Nahlah is like that of the Christ among the Jews. May God put in order my people. I am a stranger among them as Sulah was among Thamud)

Thus he has equated himself with the Sulah and the Christ and the Muslims with the Jews and the Thamud. Again he says :-

أَيُّ خَلْقٍ أَرْبَعِي : أَيُّ عَظِيمٍ أَرْبَعِي  
وَكُلُّ مَا قَدْ خَلَقَ اللَّهُ : ..... : ..... مَا تَمَّ يَخْلُقُ  
خَشَوْتُ فِي صَهْنِي : كَسْبَعْرَةٍ فِي نَفْسِي

(What height shall I ascend to which great shall I fear? When all everything that God has created or has not (yet) created is as unworthy before my determination as a hair in my parting.)

Tāhā Husayn says that these views and this monstrous character deserved a punishment ~~harder~~ for harsher than imprisonment. Had he been killed for this, it would have been in accordance with justice. As far as the narrations which quote al-Hutanabbī as proclaiming Prophethood for himself and as deluding many people

1. Ma'Al-Hutanabbī: Vol: I: PP: 154.
2. Ibid: PP: 166.
3. Ibid: PP: 148.
4. Ibid: PP: 173.

to follow him does not merit consideration with Tāhā Husayn. He terms it  
 -1-  
 nothing more than a myth. He says that all the talk about his miracles, his  
 own Quran and the related things are the creation of the later times. Most  
 probably some of his contemporaries, who were antagonistic to him, sought to  
 -2-  
 defend him by creating this myth. Anyhow, Tāhā Husayn admits that it is a clear  
 -3-  
 proof of his indignation towards religion. The fact is that he thought of  
 starting a revolt but was napped by the governor Iālū before he could put his  
 plan into practice. This is what he has himself expressed while apologising  
 and ~~beside~~ invoking the mercy of the governor. He says :

لَعَلَّ فِي رَجُوبِ الْحَدَرِ : دَحْرَى خَبِيلٍ وَرُجُوبِ السَّيُودِ

(You hasten in „warding Had to me at a time when even prostration is  
 not obligatory upon me.)

-4-  
 He further ~~says~~ promises not to ~~again~~ repeat the practice in future. He was  
 -5-  
 released and directed to leave Hama which he did.

Enumerating the factors which hindered al-Hutramabbī from producing  
 stylistic poetry during this period, Tāhā Husayn says that the worsening  
 -6-  
 political situation of North Syria and al-Hutramabbī's discontented nature  
 -7-  
 were its main causes. He was compelled to sell his talent in an unrewarding  
 market. Those whom he scolded would hail him out of their ignorance and  
 -8-  
 reward him miserly due to their miserliness. Tāhā Husayn has also given  
 an account of the main features of al-Hutramabbī's poetry produced during this  
 -9-  
 p e r i o d .

The most important phase of al-Hutramabbī's life and art was the one in  
 which he developed contacts with Sayf al-Dawlah and was attached

---

1. *Ma'al-Hutramabbī*: Vol. I: P:174-175.

2. *Ibid*: P:175.

3. *Ibid*: P:181.

4. *Ibid*: P:182.

5. *Ibid*: P:183.

6. *Ibid*: P:202.

7. *Ibid*: P:181.

8. *Ibid*: P:200.

9. *Ibid*: P:190-190.

with his court for about nine years. During this period his life was prosperous and his art ~~has~~ <sup>to</sup> bloomed. Like the ~~many~~ <sup>multi-</sup> ~~faced~~ <sup>faceted</sup> personality of Sayf-al-Dawlah, al-Hutanabbi's poetry became multi-dimensional. Al-Hutanabbi has written as many as eighty nine panegyrics extolling Sayf-al-Dawlah. History has yet to know a poet who composed such a vast number of panegyrics in praise of a single ~~poet~~ <sup>patron</sup>. Since this is the most important phase of al-Hutanabbi's life, Taha Husayn has undertaken a detailed survey of all those factors which shaped the course of the life of al-Hutanabbi as well as of Sayf al-Dawlah. In this ~~a~~ <sup>very</sup> period does al-Hutanabbi's poetry describe Jihad of the Muslims against the Christians. Though the Arabs have depicted war scenes in their poetry since the very beginning, yet this art was so developed by al-Hutanabbi that many ~~scholarship~~ <sup>literary</sup> historians were wrongly induced to name him as the originator of this art and some of them went a step further when they merited his poetry as best ~~at~~ <sup>of</sup> all literature of the world in this ~~modern~~ <sup>context</sup>. In this very phase did he manage, after having achieved perfection in this art to make <sup>entry</sup> into the list of 'al-Fahul 'Alim <sup>Shu'ra'</sup> al-'Arab' (Selected poets of Arabia) and his stay at Halab <sup>ushered</sup> in a literary renaissance there. But with all this it remains a fact that for al-Hutanabbi his art was a means and not an end. He was a slave of greed and ~~and~~ <sup>wealth</sup> and not of beauty and art.

In fact this tremendous success achieved by al-Hutanabbi was in itself a reflection of Sayf al-Dawlah's personality. He himself was learned, brave, kind, hearted, capacious, generous, courageous and ready to fight the Christians. He had a good taste for literature and love for knowledge. These qualities of his patron prompted al-Hutanabbi to strive hard to achieve perfection in his

1. Ma' al-Hutanabbi: Vol. I: PP: 316-319.

2. Ibid: P: 311.

3. Ibid: PP: 316-319.

4. Ma' al-Hutanabbi: vol: II: PP: 319-328.

5. Ibid: PP: 329-337.

6. Ibid: PP: 316.

7. Ibid: PP: 341.

8. Ibid: P: 339.

art and thereby make himself worthy of the court of this learned Amir.

-2- -3- -4- -5-  
Qasidah (Panegyric), Maṭṭhiyah (Elegy), Siyāsah (Political Satire Poetry), Jihādīyah  
-6- -7-  
(Holy War), Ṭasmiyah (Satire) and Dhī'r al-Ḥunāsāt (Satirical Caricatural Poetry) are  
the different fields which Ḥatanabbī treaded during the nine years of his  
stay at the court of Sayf al-Dawlah. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn has devoted one hundred and  
-8-  
forty pages of his work to paraphrase some of the important poems of all these  
categories.

It has been both an important and, to some extent, a controversial issue  
between the literary historians as to what caused the drift between Sayf  
al-Dawlah and al-Ḥatanabbī. According to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn the first and the fore-  
most factor responsible for this was al-Ḥatanabbī's own attitude. Despite  
his repeated experiences, he did not make himself fully conversant with the  
court manners. His superiority complex filled his heart with a sense of triumph  
-9-  
and pride. As such he cared for none and the others paid him in the same coin.  
In 339 AH Sayf al-Dawlah's armies suffered a crushing defeat at the hands  
of the Christians while in the beginning they had been defeated at their  
hands. But the battle took such a turn that a large number of the Muslim  
army fled. Al-Ḥatanabbī composed a Qasidah in which he severely criticised  
those who had fled. Surely there were many Nobles in them and they felt the  
-11-  
sting of the satire. While instigating Sayf al-Dawlah to take revenge from  
his enemy he says :—

خيلني أني أرى غير شاعر : فكم منهم الدلعى وسنى القفا  
نزل العجا أن السوف كسرة : ولكن سيف الدولة اليوم واصر

(My friend I see only one poet. "Ow high they boast but I compose

1. Ma'al-Ḥatanabbī: Vol: II: PP: 341.

2. Ibid: PP: 343-374.

3. Ibid: PP: 375-393.

4. Ibid: PP: 399-416.

5. Ibid: PP: 417-461.

6. Ibid: PP: 462-477.

7. Ibid: PP: 478-482.

8. Ibid: PP: 343-482.

9. Ibid: PP: 384.

10. Ibid: PP: 385.

11. Ibid: PP: 486.



Qasā'id. It is strange because *Suyūf* (swords) are many but today *Sayf al-Dawlah* (sword of the Domain) is only one.)

-1-

This enraged poets and the nobles alike. *Abū al-'Ashā'ir* had introduced *al-Mutanabbī* to the court of *Sayf al-Dawlah*. Courtesy demanded to pay attention toward s him, but decided by him his vanity *al-Mutanabbī* never did so. So *Abū al-'Ashā'ir* was also enraged. As a result a conspiracy was later hatched by him, *Abū Farrāḥ* and others to kill *al-Mutanabbī* by delusion. Though the attempt failed and *al-Mutanabbī* managed a re-entry into the court, yet he did not give up his arrogant attitude. As a result he could not stay for long in the court and had finally to leave it. This separation, was no doubt, painful for both *al-Mutanabbī* and *Sayf al-Dawlah*.

-2-

-3-

-4-

-5-

-6-

-7-

-8-

-9-

-10-

-11-

-12-

To *al-Mutanabbī*, in his affair with *Kaḥr*, was surely insignificant for the whole part of it. He was insignificant when he was eulogised him, insignificant when he criticised him, insignificant when he pleased with him and insignificant when he was displeased with him. This is the comment which *Tahā Ḥusayn* passes against *al-Mutanabbī* after having a full estimate of his stay for five years at the court of *Kaḥr*. This Ethiopian governor had a full estimate of *al-Mutanabbī's* talent. He knew his worth. Therefore, he made him a luxurious prisoner. *Tahā Ḥusayn* has given a detailed account of *al-Mutanabbī's* life in Egypt; has made a comparative study of *Malik* and *Egypt*, of *Sayf al-Dawlah* and *Kaḥr* and has described the social, cultural, political, economic conditions and geographical conditions of Egypt. *Tahā Ḥusayn* has also given the paraphrases of the panegyrics and satires of *al-Mutanabbī* composed to eulogise or criticise *Kaḥr*.

The ~~last~~ last three years of *al-Mutanabbī's* life were rewarding as well as troublesome for him. Rewarding because he succeeded to associate himself with

---

1. *Ma' al-Mutanabbī*: Vol: II: PP: 489.  
2. *Ibid*: PP: 495.  
3. *Ibid*: PP: 496.  
4. *Ibid*: PP: 498.  
5. *Ibid*: PP: 497-505.  
6. *Ibid*: PP: 511.  
7. *Ibid*: PP: 620-621.  
8. *Ibid*: PP: 531-537.  
9. *Ibid*: PP: 543-548.  
10. *Ibid*: PP: 525-530.  
11. *Ibid*: PP: 543-548.  
12. *Ibid*: PP: 554-610.

the court of Ibn al-'Asīd and thereby gained acquaintance with Mu'izz al-Dawlah. He, in fact, got associated with the latter's court at Shīrās and composed a number of peryrics during his three month stay there. He received a sumptuous reward for these peryrics. These years were troublesome for him because he won the wrath of many of his previous friends for whom he had suffered in his youth and whose ideology he had always propagated. His long poetical career had earned for him sufficient wealth to live a princely life. In 353 AH, while he was in Haddad, the Qarmāṭah ideology was fast spreading there till its leaders thought it an opportune time to rise against the then government. In this stormy struggle all the wealthy people were with the Sultān. Al-Ḥatanabbī was left with one of the two alternatives to choose; either to take side with the Sultān and to save his wealth but to win the wrath of the Qarmāṭah which knew no limits or to take side with the Qarmāṭah and to save his self but to win the wrath of the Sultān which he was so eager to avoid. Finally, he sided with the Sultān composed a stinging satire against the leader of the Qarmāṭah, Dahab Bin Yasīd al-Kilābī and fought against them with the help of his servants. Later, returning from Shīrās, he was attacked by a group of the Qarmāṭah belonging to Ramī Dahab and was killed in Basra, 354 AH at the age of fifty one near Diyar al-'Aqūl. Tāhā Ḥusayn has correctly said that it was his changed stand about the Qarmāṭah that cost him his life. His criticisms of Ramī Dahab may have been a contributory factor.

This survey of Ma'al-Ḥatanabbī make it clear that Tāhā Ḥusayn has, in the first place, given a detailed account of the political, social, economic, cultural, literary and religious conditions of the people of the places where al-Ḥatanabbī stayed throughout fifty one years of his life. Tāhā Ḥusayn has very a time made it clear that man is a product of society, his personality is moulded by it in to a particular form and the society speaks

1. Ma'al-Ḥatanabbī: Vol. II: PP: 651-652.

2. Ibid: PP: 668-670.

3. Ibid: PP: 699-700.

4. Ibid: PP: 701.

through him. It is for this purpose that Taha Husayn has studied the general background of the societies against which al-Mutanabbi sought to develop his art. The society was influenced by him (as was the case with Balah when he visited it in the second phase of his life) and he was influenced by the society (as in the first phase of his life).

Taha Husayn has given a deep analysis of al-Mutanabbi's psychology and has brought out the changes which the consequent events had on it. He has substantiated his findings by quoting relevant verses from his poetry. This has helped to provide answer to many questions arising from al-Mutanabbi's attitude at different courts.

The book has assumed a colour of criticism when Taha Husayn evaluates and criticises the opinion of the biographers of al-Mutanabbi. He has tried to bring out the truth with the help of the al-Mutanabbi's poetry, his personality traits and the political conditions prevalent during that time. In particular he has evaluated the opinions of Rishakere expressed by him in his book 'About Tayyib al-Mutanabbi'.

There are many instances in the book where Taha Husayn has contradicted his previous stand. He says that man is the product of society he lives in. He is moulded by it and consequently speaks of it. We have already expressed our most qualified dissenting opinion about the contention of Taha Husayn, while discussing Tajdid Ilm and Abi al-Ala. However, if we completely agree with what Taha Husayn has said, then it would mean that al-Mutanabbi's character which was full of greed, lust for wealth and fame, arrogance, inconsistency and irreligiosity, was the direct result of the deteriorating political, social, economic and religious conditions of the time. And these conditions Taha Husayn has repeatedly described in the pages of his work. Here he should have, to uphold his own contention, shown an inclination towards finding an excuse for the actions and character of al-Mutanabbi instead of condemning it so severely. Had he done so,

193

But he would have found that al-Mutanabbī had no alternative, but to leave the court of Sayf al-Dawlah as he was injured in the court in his presence, an attempt was made to kill him and Sayf al-Dawlah did nothing to prevent it. Then he had no alternative but to go to Egypt because everywhere all the other places were comparatively unsafe for him. It is unjust to say that he was a simpleton in believing that the Egyptians were ready to receive him. In fact, he was clever, tactful and adventurous when he created such an atmosphere in which he was sought there willingly or unwillingly.

Tahā Husayn refutes his earlier held contention that al-Mutanabbī was prejudicial and wanted to expell <sup>-1-</sup> all the non-Arabs from the Arabia, install the rule of the pure Arabs and ~~more~~ secure exclusively for them the right to govern. Speaking about his Ahājī (satirical poems) against Kafūr, in which he denounced him for being black and an Ethiopian, Tahā Husayn condemns al-Mutanabbī saying the he should not have spoken in such terms being a banner holder of equality between <sup>-2-</sup> man and man.

Though Tahā Husayn refutes the commonly held contention that poetry or prose is the true reflection of the personality of its composer and as such its inferences cannot be relied upon for the dependable account of his personality traits, yet he has, throughout the book, utilised al-Mutanabbī's poetry as the only source to ascertain his bent of mind.

While fleeing from Egypt, al-Mutanabbī's servants were induced by a man from <sup>-3-</sup> the clan of Tayl 'Jarid bin Rabī'ah to stage revolt ~~against~~ against their master. As a ~~prelude~~ prelude to it they began to steal the belongings of their master. On coming <sup>-4-</sup> to know of this al-Mutanabbī killed the main culprit out of his servants to serve as a deterrent for others. It is strange that Tahā Husayn condemns al-Mutanabbī for this action. One would like to ask as to what else he could do Was he to allow them to steal his wealth and then kill him? The action is indicative of al-Mutanabbī's will power to stand against all difficulties and emerge successful. If he has mentioned the incident in his poetry we do not see any thing wrong in it as against Tahā. <sup>-5-</sup>

1. Ma'al-Mutanabbī, Vol: I, P: 145.

2. Ma'al-Mutanabbī, Vol: I, P: 1620.

3. Ibid: P: 639.

4. Ibid: P: 1640.

5. Ibid: P: 1640.

Tāhā Husayn has not mentioned all that concerned the family of al-Mutanabbī. When and where did he marry? How many children he had had? Was his family life a happy one? These and the related questions if answered now would have helped in solving many tangles regarding al-Mutanabbī's character. Though he has mentioned that his son got killed with him at the hands of Barā' Dabāh but at what age he does not mention.

## ‘UTHMĀN

### PART I OF AL FITNAH AL KUBRĀ

On the last day of Dhū al-Hijj, 23 AH ‘Uthmān was chosen Khalīfah by the Sahābah present in Madīnah. From this very date starts that controversial chapter of the Islamic history which has consumed the energies of many scholars to reach to a right conclusion while depicting the incidents and events concerning the ‘Fitnah’. Not only this, this chapter of Islamic history has been the main cause of bitter skirmishes - nay the bitter six encounters - between two groups of the Muslims, both holding the extreme ends of the issue and none agreeing to see and search for a common meeting point between these two extreme ends. It is a sorry state of affairs that most of the earlier Muslim scholars desisted from writing explicitly on the subject and, instead, chose to skip over the historical details concerning the period. This provided a chance to some orientalist and enemies of the Muslim Unity to give vent to their malice against Islam and the Muslims. Thus the gap between the two was further widened. Any how, it is an encouraging feature of the modern Muslim intellectual history that a good number of the Muslim scholars have impartially written on the subject and hence helped in clearing many mis-understandings created by the prejudicial writings of the biased Orientalists. In 1947, Tāhā Husayn decided to conduct a study of the life of ‘Uthmān and the cause of the ‘Fitnah’.

In the foreword to his book, Tāhā Husayn has expressed his resolve to follow

the truth, be accurate and do justice to the subject. Furthermore, not to be <sup>-1-</sup> swayed away by the passions of the Uthmaniyyin or the Shi'ites and to view the events with a historians's eye who, while determining the conclusion, is not guided <sup>-2-</sup> by his Faith or religion, has been his guiding principle throughout the book.

To begin with, Taha Husayn has passed down an important discussion on the nature and characteristics of the Islamic state. He gives an estimate of the democratic form of government, as understood today, which has guaranteed a part of freedom to the individual at the cost of his economic equality - say justice - ; of communism which has guaranteed a part of economic equality to the individual <sup>-3-</sup> at the cost of his freedom - say his self respect; of monarchy which has assumed <sup>-4-</sup> the posture of 'Divine Rule' and has robbed the individual of everything he has in the name of the Divine Right of the Kings. He says that the history has yet to see an era in which people will be as free, as prosperous, as peaceful, as justice loving, and as equal in the eyes of law as they were in the Rashid Khilafah of Abu Bakr <sup>-5-</sup> and 'Umar (al-Fayyaz). The Islamic state, in fact, was purely of Arabian nature. Its broader outline was marked by the commandments of Allah and the filling <sup>-6-</sup> up of the gaps was left to the people. In the first place it entailed no scope for any sort of preferential treatment of one over other. The preferential treatment awarded to the Muhajirin was not because they were Qurashites or the relatives of <sup>-7-</sup> the Prophet, but because they had endured hardships from the very beginning of the Ba'ath. This was in recognition to their heroic services to the cause of Islam that they were chosen as their main councillors by al-Fayyaz. To say that Khilafah was something a matter of right for the Qurashites established on the basis of their relationship with the prophet is to negate the basic spirit

1. Uthman: PP 14.

2. Ibid: PP 15.

3. Ibid: PP 18.

4. Ibid: PP 16-17.

5. Ibid: PP 16.

6. Ibid: PP 29-30.

7. Ibid: PP 16.

8. Ibid: PP 16-17.

of Islam. Since this danger Umar had made it clear that had Abū'Ubaydah or <sup>2</sup>Abū  
Maulā Abū Hudhayfah been alive he would have nominated one of them to succeed  
him. And it is a fact that none of them was a Qurashite and the latter was not  
-1-  
even an Arab.

When the teachers of Islam were presented before the Makkans the most  
dreaded to them was the concept of equality which Islam forcefully propagated.  
It is why they stiffed up their loins to try to withhold the onward march of  
Islam, but when they were overpowered they meekly submitted to its authority.  
-2-  
Monotheism was not as dreadful a concept for them as equality was. This explains  
the Prophet's serious concern to see to it that the concept of equality was  
enforced in its letter and spirit and he allowed no leniency in it. Al-'Ḥaṭṭāb  
faithfully followed him. Besides, the business minded mentality of the Arabs in  
general and of the Qurashites in particular was in search of avenues to  
make wealth. So the prophet saw to it that money remained in wide circulation, it was  
not hoarded and people were made to hate the very conception of wealth.  
-3-  
He himself never thought to acquire property and al-'Ḥaṭṭāb faithfully followed  
-4-  
his policy. Umar always enforced law, kept a strict vigil on the actions and  
-5-  
character of his governors, remained always in touch with the people, listened  
-6-  
to their troubles and solved their problems.  
-7-

This was the broad outline set for 'Uthmān by his predecessors and within it  
he had to conduct the business of Khilā'fah. It will be proper to study his role  
as Khilā'fah in the context of this background and this alone will help us to  
reach to a realistic conclusion about the causes of the 'Fitnah' which rocked the  
-8-  
Qasr al-'Ḥilā'fah (Structure of the Caliphate).

The book almost fully deals with the life of 'Uthmān after he was elected  
to the post of Khilā'fah. As far as his life before Islam and even up to the death  
of Umar, it has been described very concisely. Even the personal character of  
-9-  
'Uthmān has been depicted briefly. In fact the book is largely concerned with the

- 
1. 'Uthmān: PP: 37.
  2. Ibid: PP: 10-12.
  3. Ibid: PP: 12.
  4. Ibid: PP: 13-14.
  5. Ibid: PP: 15.
  6. Ibid: PP: 13.
  7. Ibid: PP: 20.
  8. Ibid: PP: 49.
  9. Ibid: PP: 53.

analysis of the cause which led to the later 'Fitnah' and the role 'Uthmān played in it. Therefore, the sequence of the events concerning his life is badly missing in the book.

Tahā Husayn has enlisted the tasks before 'Uthmān. Many expeditions were waiting completion, Muster Roll was to be finalised, Area brought under the control of Islam<sup>1</sup> Domain were to be kept under strict vigil, co-ordination between political, administrative and war machinery was to be maintained and the attempts to create aristocratic hierarchy were to be frustrated and put under check. It is a sad fact that though 'Uthmān laid down the policies in accordance with the spirit of the Qurān, the Sunnah and the precedence set by al-Shaykhān, yet he did not vigorously pursue them. And, in a number of Khutbahs fields, he consciously or unconsciously struck drifted away from the policies of al-Shaykhān. 'Uthmān encouraged the Sahābah, particularly the Qurashites, to amass wealth till a powerful Qurashite clique came into existence that grabbed the major government offices. His policies towards Ansār were painful for them. The activities of 'Umayyah were responsible to weaken the concept of equality in the minds of the Muslims. For 'Maglūbīn Min al-'Arab' his policies remained unchanged but for Thiwas (Proteroes) they were mainly concerned with squeezing the 'Udders'.

Tahā Husayn has conducted a deep study of the policy of appointment and dismissal of the governors adopted by 'Uthmān. At the time of his death 'Umar had advised him to allow the governors to continue in office for at least one year after his death. This advice 'Uthmān accepted and followed. However, after the lapse of this period he replaced many of them. Umar's governor of Kufāh was Sa'id bin Abi Waqqas who was dismissed by 'Uthmān on a very vague charge that he had borrowed

- 
1. 'Uthmān: PP: 56.
  2. Ibid: P: 56-57.
  3. Ibid: P: 57-58.
  4. Ibid: P: 59.
  5. Ibid: P: 59-60.
  6. Ibid: PP: 75.
  7. Ibid: PP: 74-78.
  8. Ibid: PP: 79-84.
  9. Ibid: PP: 85.
  10. Ibid: PP: 86.
  11. Ibid: P: 86.



some money from Ḥaṭṭ al-Ḥāl and was hesitating to repay it. He appointed his own brother Walīd bin 'A-bal bin Abī Mu'īt on the post. Walīd had earlier defrauded and cheated to the Prophet and had apostatized. Later he re-entered the fold of

<sup>-2-</sup> Islam. <sup>-3-</sup> Uthmān, compelled by the insistence of the <sup>people</sup> ~~people~~ prophet, carried out <sup>-4-</sup> Ḥaṭṭ on him as he had drunk during his governorship. Consequently Uthmān dismissed him and appointed another person from Banū 'Umayyah, Sa'īd bin al-'Ās, on the post.

In the beginning his policies were to the satisfaction of the Kūfans. <sup>-5-</sup> But soon the influx of foreigners and slaves in to Kūfah created a number of administrative problems. He wrote to Uthmān for advice who, as a solution to the problems,

<sup>-6-</sup> declared the sale and exchange of land open throughout the Caliphate. This marked the beginning of the aristocratic style of living. <sup>-7-</sup> Healthy people brought vast areas of land and cultivated them with the help of their servants. The worst hit

area was Kūfah and there were signs of unrest. To curb the mounting unrest many families were unlawfully exiled only to be repatriated to set them exiled once <sup>-8-</sup> more. Soon Kūfans dismissed Sa'īd while he was away from Kūfah and elected Abū Mūsā Ash'arī as their governor. This they did without seeking prior consent of

<sup>-9-</sup> Uthmān and he was left with no alternative but to endorse their action.

Umayyā's governor of Basrah was Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī who was dismissed by Uthmān on the basis of some unfounded allegation. Then Uthmān appointed his brother from maternal uncle's side, Abd allāh bin 'Abī Kuris, who was only <sup>-10-</sup> twenty five years of age, as the governor of Basrah. No doubt he was honest, pious, <sup>-11-</sup> brave, a shrewd politician and an unswerving warrior, but people of Basrah were not satisfied with the new arrangement and he had but to ~~quickly~~ relinquish the post.

Umayyā's governor of Fīrān was Ḥu'ayyāh whom he also made the governor of Jordan after its governor had died. Uthmān made it his to continue in his office

1. Uthmān: P: 92.

2. Ibid: P: 93.

3. Ibid: PP: 95-96.

4. Ibid: P: 102.

5. Ibid: PP: 103.

6. Ibid: PP: 104.

7. Ibid: PP: 105.

8. Ibid: PP: 109-112.

9. Ibid: P: 113.

10. Ibid: P: 115.

11. Ibid: P: 115.

-1-

and added Palestine and Hama to his jurisdiction.

al-

'Umar's governor of Egypt was 'Aar Bin 'As and he was fully satisfied with his performance. To appoint his foster brother 'Abd Allāh Bin Sa'd Bin Abī Sarah in his place, 'Uthmān played a trick on him and dismissed him. 'Abd-Allāh was a man of dubious character in whose condemnation more than one verses of the Qurān are reported to have been revealed. He entered the fold of Islam to save his life as he was on the list of the deadliest enemies who were to be killed even if found taking shelter under the curtain of the Ka'bah. His role in Egypt as a governor was productive of unrest. It must be borne in mind that the 'Fitnah' owes its origin to Egypt. During his governorship he was a man of ~~no~~ world not of religion<sup>4</sup>.

In this list Tāhā Husayn has also included two ~~aspirants~~ aspirants for the post of governorship, Muḥammad Bin Iḥḥayfah and Muḥammad Bin Abī Bakr. 'Uthmān negated their demand and they took recourse to bitter criticism against him. They went to Egypt and collected a band of followers around them. This group was so courageous that its members wrote to Khalīfah to observe justice and dismiss his kith and kin from the key government posts, not only because they were his close relatives but also because they were corrupt and their character was not above board. Tāhā Husayn maintains that the posts were limited and as such all the ~~aspirants~~ aspirants could not be accommodated, but asserts that he had the distribution of the posts been made on just grounds and had the policies of al-Shaykhān in this context been upheld, none would have any reason to complain<sup>7</sup>.

As far as the story about 'Abd-Allāh Bin Sa'd, his propaganda, the establishment of secret ~~network~~ network by him with head quarters in all parts of the Muslim world and the like is concerned, Tāhā Husayn unhesitatingly declares it

---

1. 'Uthmān: P: 118.

2. Ibid: PP: 1122-124.

3. Ibid: PP: 124.

4. Ibid: P: 125.

5. Ibid: PP: 126-127.

6. Ibid: PP: 129-130.

7. Ibid: PP: 127.

8.

as baseless and even if it had had some basis, it has been exaggerated a lot.

After being hit in the belly by a double pronged knife at the hands of Laili, Umar nominated a six-member body to elect his successor from among themselves. The group consisted of 'Uthman Bin 'Affan, 'Abd-al-Rahman Bin al-'Awf, Sa'd Bin Abi Maqqas, 'Abd-Allah Bin al-Zubayr, Talhah Bin 'Ubayd-Allah and 'Ali Bin Abi Talib. He nominated his son 'Abd-Allah also to the committee but with the explicit understanding that he will only take ~~the~~ part in deliberations and will have no claim for Khilafah. Eventually, 'Uthman Bin 'Affan was elected. Taha Husayn has conducted a deep survey as to the nature of relations of the remaining five Shahabah of this group with 'Uthman and has also given an estimate of the opinions they had ~~about~~ the way in which 'Uthman was conducting the business of Khilafah. Before conducting such survey Taha Husayn has given an account of their life, character and religiosity. Taha Husayn says that 'Abd al-Rahman Bin al-'Awf was having no good opinion about the way in which 'Uthman was managing the affairs of the Khilafah. He died during his Khilafah. As against him, Sa'd Bin Abi Maqqas never objected to the policies of 'Uthman even after he was dismissed by him <sup>from</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>governorship</sup>. He took no part in sedition and when asked would say that I shall fight only when I am provided with a sword that distinguishes ~~between~~ <sup>Bin</sup> wrong and right. 'Abd Allah Bin Zubayr was a close relative of the Prophet and Abu Bakr. His relations with 'Uthman remained cordial so much so that during the Fitnah 'Uthman made him in-charge of his family affairs. At the time of election of 'Uthman, Talhah Bin 'Ubayd Allah was out of Madinah. On his return he was surprised to see that 'Uthman had been elected to the post in his absence but soon the gap was bridged by 'Uthman himself and both had ~~very~~ cordial relations. Nevertheless, at a later ~~stage~~

1. 'Uthman: P: 131-137.

2. Ibid: P: 142.

3. Ibid: P: 144.

4. Ibid: P: 144.

5. Ibid: P: 146-147.

6. Ibid: P: 149.

he was discontented with 'Uthmān so much so that 'Uthmān maintain that he was the main brain behind the Fitnah. Throughout his life 'Alī never learnt to compromise with his principles. He was an ardent follower of the principles of Islam. His relations with al-Shaykhān were cordial. He never criticised them because their character provided no such chance. Then 'Uthmān was elected to the post he readily gave his oath of loyalty to him despite the fact that many people had advised him to the contrary. Whenever asked or whenever he felt the call of his conscience he tendered his sincere advice to 'Uthmān. But later policies of 'Uthmān defected him and he publicly warned him against the wrath of Allah. Nevertheless, he always remained as obedient as his Faith demanded of him.

Tahā Husayn has also conducted a survey of the nature of relations some of the other Sahābah at Madīnah who had with 'Uthmān. 'Abd-Allāh bin Mas'ūd was a distinguished Sahābī and a personal attendant of the Prophet. He was treasurer of Kūfah where 'Uthmān's governor Walīd borrowed some amount from Bait al-Māl but deferred its payment. 'Abd-Allāh bin Mas'ūd pressed hard for its repayment. Later Walīd wrote a letter to 'Uthmān complaining against the attitude of Ibn Mas'ūd whereupon 'Uthmān directed severe criticism against Ibn Mas'ūd. He resigned and confined his house. Later 'Uthmān got him murdered in Masjid al-Nabī. 'Uthmān's relations with Abū Dharr were not friendly. He publicly condemned 'Uthmān for plundering with Bait al-Māl and generously donating away the sumptuous sums to those for whom God had created no provisions in it. 'Ammār bin Yāsir could not find himself in league with 'Uthmān's policies and for this he had to suffer much at his hands. But he continued to criticise his wrong policies.

---

1. 'Uthmān: P. 150.

2. Ibid: P. 155.

3. Ibid: P. 155.

4. Ibid: P. 155.

5. Ibid: P. 160.

6. Ibid: P. 161.

7. Ibid: P. 163.

8. Ibid: P. 166-167.

26

It is a fact that the Muslims do not contest 'Uthmān's policies of  
 -1-  
 wars and conquests. But some of them may argue that 'Uthmān was given the oath  
 of loyalty with the understanding that he will follow the Qur'ān the Sunnah and  
 the policies of al-Shaykhān while managing the aff affairs of Khalīfah. The point  
 in discussion, therefore, must be whether or not 'Uthmān deviated, more or less, from  
 these sources. The answer to the question will in itself provide an answer to  
 yet more important question whether or not these Muslims were justified in their  
 attitude towards 'Uthmān. 'Abū Hurayn proposes to conduct a study of 'Uthmān's  
 'Uthmān's policies on this count as well.

Muslims were critical of his actions like offering Four Rak'atohaparak  
 -2-  
 Prayer at Mina instead of the two as was the Sunnah followed by al-Shaykhān,  
 collecting Zakat from the owners of horses as against the precedence, sealing  
 -3-  
 grazing yards, allowing Hakeem Bin Abī al-'Ās and his family to return to Madīnah  
 while he was exiled by the Prophet on the charges of some abominable practices  
 -4-  
 and al-Shaykhān had not allowed him to return despite 'Uthmān's intercession and  
 -5-  
 burning the previous copies of the Qur'ān after it was compiled in one volume.  
 -6-  
 'Abū Hurayn has exonerated 'Uthmān of all these charges arguing that he was  
 Khalīfah and had an authority to do so with the good faith that it was in the  
 better interest of the Muslims.

On the administrative front 'Uthmān's policies could never really convince  
 a large number of the Muslims. His policies of appointments and dismissals were  
 always viewed with suspicion by them. He appointed men of dubious character as  
 -7-  
 governors though it cannot be contested that a majority of them was capable  
 -8-  
 o t h e r w i s e .

In the condemnation letter which 'Uthmān wrote to Ibn Mas'ūd he said, "You  
 -9-  
 are our treasurer, so ye not contest Walīd on what he does with bait al-Māl". This

- 
1. 'Uthmān: PP: 169.
  2. Ibid: PP: 178-180.
  3. Ibid: PP: 180.
  4. Ibid: PP: 180-181.
  5. Ibid: PP: 184-186.
  6. Ibid: PP: 181-184.
  7. Ibid: PP: 187-188.
  8. Ibid: PP: 188-189.
  9. Ibid: : 160.

attitude explicitly makes it clear that 'Uthmān thought it his right to spend the amount of Baṭ al-Ḥāl as he liked and that he was responsible for his actions before none other than Allāh. The suit was followed by his governors till it led to un-precedented misappropriations. Perhaps 'Uthmān had thought that he will override the adverse effects of the policy but later developments showed that these effects were more powerful than him.

The leniency he showed to his governors and the deaf ear he turned to the complaints of the people against them made the things worse. Add to it the role played by Hārūr. The Muslim Empire was virtually thrown into severe chaos and confusion.

This pathetic condition was destined to lead to unprecedented unrest and as a matter of fact it led to it and claimed the head of the Khalīfah as its price. Tāhā Ḥusayn has given a very vivid description of all these happenings.

Towards the close of the book Tāhā Ḥusayn has posed some important and pointed questions to the reader. He asks;

1. Why did the governors of 'Uthmān not despatch their own troops of their own to Madīnah to deliver him from the siege after having come to know of the rebels assembling in Madīnah and laying a siege? It must be borne in mind that there was an ample time (about forty days) at their disposal;

2. Why did they not do so even after receiving 'Uthmān's letter to this effect?

3. Why did all of them choose to remain at their headquarters and did not perform Ḥajj despite strict orders of 'Uthmān to the contrary?

4. Why did the pilgrims not react when 'Uthmān's letter, informing them about the malicious designs of the rebels, was read out to them?

5. and, finally why did the Muḥājirūn and the Anṣār of Madīnah not strive fully to persuade the rebels to give up their nefarious designs? We to

---

1. 'Uthmān: P: 190-191.

2. Ibid: P: 191-194.

3. Ibid: P: 197.

4. Ibid: P: 198-199.

5. Ibid: P: 200-274.

endorse 'Uthmān's comment that the "people were fed up with his age" Tahā Husayn says that the answer to all these questions, perhaps, is that people were not only fed up with his age, but more than that and more than anything else, with his policies which held no comparison with the one's which people knew in the Khilāfah of 'Umar.

This brings us to the description of some of the issues where Tahā Husayn has erred in deducing the right conclusions. After 'Umar got killed his son 'Ubayd Allāh, on the basis of suspicion, killed a Muslim Warraqhān, and two Thiāsi, Juhaynah and Abū Lālū's daughter. 'Uthmān was confronted with the issue whether to order Qasās against 'Ubayd Allāh or to pardon him or to accept Diyah (ransom) from him. 'Uthmān chose to pardon and to accept Diyah on the assertion that all the three killed by 'Ubayd Allāh had no 'Walī' and as per Sharīf he was ~~their~~ their wali being the Khilāfah. Since 'Walī' is empowered to demand Qasās or Diyah, he opted for the latter. It is strange that Tahā Husayn has accepted this explanation at its face value. Had this been so simple, it would have mattered little but ~~we~~ who does not know that 'Uthmān did it under pressure and Tahā Husayn himself agrees to it. Who does not know that the Prophet himself carried out Hadd even when the defaulter belonged to a powerful sect of society e.g., he carried it out on Mā'iqah of Quraysh for robbery? Who does not know that 'Umar carried out Hadd on his own son, 'Abd-al-Rahmān for drinking? That all this means is that Hadd is a deterrent and must be carried out in all such cases. The Qurān says :

وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَوةٌ يَا أُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ

("And in castigation there is (surety of) life for you. O Ye intelligent people"). Tahā Husayn's contention that 'Walī' is empowered to pardon or demand Diyah can not be contested in principle but his explanation regarding 'Uthmān opting for Diyah is ridiculous. He says that ~~had~~ had he not done,

1. 'Uthmān: PP: 219-220.

2. Ibid: PP: 187.

so, he would have set Hamū'Adī in general, and Hamū'Al al-ḥaṭṭāb in particular, against himself. Does it mean that had not such an apprehension been there, he would have carried <sup>out</sup> the Hadd? The more <sup>best</sup> fact to be kept in mind, even the amount of Diyah agreed upon was paid by Uthman out of his own pocket. The worst art of all this is that Ṭāḥā 'Usayn dubs the critics of Uthman on this count as "Matashadadin Fi al-Dīn".

Ṭāḥā 'Usayn has quoted Umar out of the context as saying that "had he time to revise his policies he would take (by force) the extra-money of the wealthy and distribute it among the needy" to mean that he was not satisfied with his own economic policy and that he wanted to create economic equality. The fact is that Umar expressed such resolve when the Arab Peninsula was badly hit by drought. In fact he made it compulsory on all the wealthy and people to feed the poor. Ṭāḥā 'Usayn has also written the same thing while giving an account of Umar's life in "al-Shayḥān". One of the fundamental features of Islam is that it seeks to establish a just economic order and not what Ṭāḥā 'Usayn want to infer.

Ṭāḥā 'Usayn has erred beyond limit by asserting that government in the Prophet's time was exclusively a human affair and was bound only by the

Qurānic injunction:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاءِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَيَنْهَىٰ عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعْلَمُ لَكُمْ تَذْوِينَ

("Verily Allah commands you to observe justice, beneficence, and to favour your relatives and forbids you from indecency, abomination wrong and intemperance.

He advises you, may be you get reminded".) and so it should have remained. But

the fact is that the Islamic state draws its inspiration from the Qurān and

the Sunnah. Where these two sources fail to provide solution to a particular

problem one has to resort to his own Ijtihād which invariably must be within

1. Uthman: P. 166.

2. Ibid: P. 167.

3. Ibid: P. 18.

4. Ibid: PP. 8-9.

5. Al-Shayḥān: P. 190-195, 210-217.

6. Uthman: P. 127.

7. Ibid: P. 124.



the limits of the Shari'ah. This is what the Prophet commands Mu'awīh Bin Jabal when despatching him to Yemen as governor.

Commenting upon the entry of the Qurashites in the fold of Islam Tāhā Husayn says "when they became Muslims or decided so they were made to remember that the Prophet had, while calling them to the new religion, promised them the kingdom in this world and a better reward in the life hereafter. So all of them thought of the most worldly power and few of them thought of better reward in the life hereafter. .... Majority of them desired worldly pleasures and very few of them the pleasures of the life hereafter ...". The least that can be said about this remark of Tāhā Husayn is that he has manifested rashness in deducing the results. If he has inferred from their known business minded psychology which sometimes counsels the conscience of a person to retire in the face of the temporary profit. But he has totally underestimated the rôle which the new factor (the religion) played in their lives. If Umar could be resuscitated by Islam why not the majority of the Qurashites. The cautious approach would have been to reverse the order.

Enumerating the causes responsible for the failure of Walid Bin 'Azzah as Governor of Kufah, Tāhā Husayn says that the most fatal of them all was the revival of the tribal prejudices and not his fondness for wine and his loose character. Walid was a Qurashite and the Kufans were Yemenis and Madanis. Had it been the only cause, then Umar's Governor of Kufah Mu'ayyad Bin Shībah al-Ja'fari and that of Ba'if must have proved a failure before Walid. The reality is contrary to it. In fact the fondness of Walid for wine, his loose character and imbalanced policies were the chief cause of this failure.

It is hard to agree with Tāhā Husayn that 'Uthmān by allowing Mu'awīyah to continue as Governor of Syria and adding Palestine and Trans to his responsibilities

1. Sahib al-Bihar: \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Uthman: P: 182
3. Ibid: P: 91.
4. Ibid: P: 98.
5. Ibid: P: 73.

responsibility provided the necessary background for him to make the <sup>216</sup>Amīyah  
a hereditary institution reserved for Banī <sup>31-</sup>Qayyah. Mu'awiyah was appointed to  
the post by Umar and was allowed to continue ~~throughout~~ through his life while he dis-  
missed many other governors on the basis of slightest charges levelled against  
them. This means that Mu'awiyah's performance was upto the mark during the days  
of Umar and he was pleased with him so much so that he added Jordan to his  
responsibility when its governor died. Again we must assert that the lenient  
policies of 'Uthman and consequent chaos and confusion was the main cause  
which induced Mu'awiyah to try his luck and he succeeded in his adventure.

The least that can be said about 'Abū 'Ubayy's criticism against  
"Uthman for not making" the Quran compiling committee broad based is that it is  
unwarranted. Since the task was of an urgent nature and the members of the  
committee were sufficiently qualified, "Uthman did it well to restrict their  
number. No prominent Muslim scholar has ever thought to ask criticism of "Uthman  
on this count.

### 'ALI 'A BATH

## PART II OF AL-FITNAH AL-KUBRA

The assassination of 'Uthman led to such atrocious consequences that  
changed the whole course of the Muslim history. It divided the Muslims among  
themselves who fought one another, killed their brethren, plundered one another's  
houses and stained the pages of Islamic history with their blood. The maximum  
quantity of this blood was of the innocent Muslims who fought on the either  
side with religious fever. The 'Fitnah' then took birth in 'Uthman's Khil'fat  
reached its zenith during the subsequent years culminating in the establishment  
of the hereditary rule of Banī Qayyah. Thereafter, it continued to claim its

1. 'Uthman: PP: 120-121.

2. Ibid: PP: 123.

toll from time to time. As against it, the moral, character and religiosity continued to dwindle till it reached its nadir after the establishment of Ḥaṣṣ Ḥaṣṣ's rule. The worst part of it is that most of the scholars desisted from conducting a dispassionate study of the events. As already pointed out, it is the noteworthy feature of the modern Muslim intellectual history that many Muslim scholars paid their attention to the subject. In 1943, Tāḥā Ḥaṣṣ conducted the study of the life of Uṭṭamān and in 1953 he published his yet another important book concerning the 'Fitnah' under the title 'Alī wa Banūh' ('Alī and his sons'). Like Uṭṭamān this book also is not a detailed life history of Alī and his two sons, Ḥaṣṣ and Ḥaṣṣ as the name seems to suggest. In fact, it is for the most part of it, the life history of Alī during his Khilāfah with special reference to the events which brought nearer the impending calamity of the assassination of Alī by Ḥaṣṣ, of Ḥaṣṣ by poisoning and of Ḥaṣṣ by confrontation and closed the just begun experiment of the Muslims with the institution of 'Khilāfah'. The centuries of indifference towards subject have allowed to gather base, ambiguity, myth and biased details around it. This has made it a nerve consuming affair to nip the genuine information from such sources. It will be not be out of place to acknowledge here that Tāḥā Ḥaṣṣ has tried hard to deduce well based conclusions from the study of this information and his presentation has been scholastic.

After the assassination of Uṭṭamān the Muslims were confronted with two important problems i.e. to elect a Khilāfah and to bring order to the book the ~~assassination~~ assassins of Uṭṭamān. The situation was made complicated by the fact that the Muslims were divided among themselves, aspirants for the post Alī, Zubayr and Talhah were sailing in different directions and the rebels did not agree on a common programme. Continued presence of the rebels in

---

1. 'Alī wa Banūh': PP: 6-7-

2. Ibid: P: 7-8.

3. Ibid: PP: 9.

Madīnah and the unrest stemming among the Madanīn as a result of this presence made the atmosphere so tense that none was ready to shoulder the responsibility of Khilāfah. Later in this anarchy, 'Alī was persuaded and controlled by the rebels as well as Muhājirūn and Anṣār to accept the post of Khilāfah. Then remained the question of bringing the assassins of 'Uthmān to the book. This assumed menacing proportions due to the fact that Madīnah was in a state of siege laid by the rebels who exerted pressure on 'Alī to refrain from proceeding further in the case in which he had already started initial proceedings. Therefore, he had no alternative but to wait for appropriate time.

At the very onset 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān has conducted a deep study of character and personality of Abī Sufyān whose heathen nature always dominated his character even after the death of the Prophet; who accepted the Faith when he was left with no other alternative; whose wife Hindah ripped open the body of dead 'Ammār and chewed his liver; and whose son 'Urwahyah though Kātib 'Aḥad for some time yet was of dubious character and weak Faith. 'Aishah bint 'Abī Bakr, was against 'Alī since the 'Ifk incident. 'Alī's election to the post annoyed her and she retired to Makkah where she had gone to perform 'Hajj. This development made Makkah an abode of all anti-'Alī elements. As a result the Makkans declined to accept a governor appointed by 'Alī. Still worse situation was created by Mu'awiyah's public declaration to resist 'Alī and challenge his authority till the time the assassins of 'Uthmān were handed over to him. Against this tense backdrop and 'Alī had to steer manage the affairs of Khilāfah and no one expected it to be a smooth sailing.

The second unfortunate development in the Muslim Islamic history, after the assassination of 'Uthmān, was the occurrence of civil war in Jamādī al-Awwal, 40 AH

1. 'Alī wa Banūh: 10-11.
2. Ibid: 12.
3. Ibid: 19.
4. Ibid: 25.
5. Ibid: 14.
6. Ibid: 15.
7. Ibid: 24-30.
8. Ibid: 125, D.
9. Ibid: 126-27.

-1-

at Madyah. In the annals of the Islamic History this war is popularly known as 'Ma'rikah al-Jamal' that which was fought between the armies of 'A'ishah and 'Ali'. The other two associates of 'A'ishah, Talhah and Zubayr, drew themselves out of the battle after being reminded by 'Ali' of the Prophet's warning to them to not to fight against 'Ali'. The war was won by 'Ali' and the treatment he meted out to the defeated behaved as Qhalifah. Taha Husayn has ~~well~~ conducted a deep psychological study of the armies on both the sides. Speaking of 'A'ishah and her close associates he says that their conscience ached, greed covered their self respect and induced them to prepare for the ~~war~~ confrontation. On the other hand, 'Ali' and his army had no hesitation and no feeling of or guilt in conscience. The latter ~~brother~~ had always kept themselves ready for agreement while the former had hesitations and reservations about it.

'Ali' had to confront Mu'awiyah's at Siffin in 12 al-Hajjah, 36 AH and Safar, 37 AH. Besides Mu'awiyah Aar Bin al-'As was chiefly responsible for the bloody events of this encounter. Taha Husayn has conducted a detailed study of the relevant events of the life and character of Aar Bin al-'As who was Umayyad's governor of Egypt and was dismissed by 'Uthman'. From then onwards he nurtured a grudge against 'Uthman' and in fact played a vital role in his assassination. It is a strange joke of the human history that this very Aar Bin al-'As entered into an agreement with Mu'awiyah to fight 'Ali' with a pretext of demanding requital of 'Uthman's' assassination. The price agreed upon was governorship of Egypt for Aar. Taha Husayn rightly infers from these details that Mu'awiyah and his close associates were fighting for their personal ends. But their army was made to believe that the war was being fought for the cause of religion, 'Ali' and his army was throughout on the right path. The battle was about to be decided in favour of 'Ali', but seeing their defeat at their heels, Aar suggested

1. Maawudhi: Tala'at wa 'A'ubant: P. 121, 125.

2. Ibid: P. 120-121.

3. Ibid: P. 121-123; 'Ali wa Banu: P. 53-60

4. Ibid: P. 141.

5. Ibid: P. 143.

6. Ibid: P. 144.

7. 'Ali wa Banu: P. 167.

8. Ibid: P. 169.

9. Ibid: P. 181-87.

to Mu'awiyah to order his army to raise the Qur'an on the pikes declaring their intentions to decide the issue according to its commandments and Mu'awiyah acted accordingly. Taha Husayn genuinely declares that this they did to ward off their impending defeat and not to end the 'Fitnah'.<sup>-1-</sup>  
-2-

The strategy yielded the desired crop and 'Ali's army was divided among itself. A small group, numbering six thousand to twelve thousand, pressed hard to go on with the war while the rest preferred the deliberations. 'Ali had to yield to the pressure of the majority and thus came into existence the Khawarij with the war cry 'La Hakam Illa Allah'.<sup>-3-</sup>

In this book Taha Husayn had already rejected the ~~misuse~~ story about Ibn al-Gawda' 'Abd-Allah Bin Saba' and his followers and he maintains the same view point here saying that the details about the alleged part played by Ibn Saba' are nothing more than a surmise, a fancy and a suspicion. Even if it had some basis, it has been exaggerated out of proportion to justify the later gigantic narrations which ~~look~~ visibly appear to be a later fabrication and this is not surprising at all because those who would fabricate Ahadith could easily do this too.<sup>-4-</sup>  
-5-

The 'Fitnah al-Khawarij' was gaining momentum. Therefore 'Ali decided to put a seal on it. He launched a "peace offensive" and went himself to their camp to bring round the leaders of the Movement. Although he succeeded, yet the success proved short lived. Khawarij entered Kufah only to leave it again with yet more burning hearts. On the other side the judge, 'Aar Bin al-'As (appointed by Mu'awiyah) and Abu Musa Ash'ari (appointed by 'Ali) met and decided to disunite both 'Ali and Mu'awiyah and to refer the matter to the Muslims asking them to elect a Qalifah of their choice. Abu Musa declared the plan and 'Aar very cunningly limited its scope for 'Ali only. As such the events headed for another confrontation.<sup>-6-</sup>  
-7-

1. 'Ali wa Banuhi' 180-82.

2. Ibid: P: 88.

3. Ibid: P: 88-97.

4. Ibid: P: 99.

5. Ibid: P: 100.

6. Ibid: P: 103-106.

7. Ibid: P: 107-111.

## c o n f r o n t a t i o n .

In order to have a deep understanding of the magnitude of the immense hazardous task waiting for 'Alī Tāhā Husayn has given a detailed account of the subsequent events and their after effects. Circumstances had put 'Alī in such a position that he had no alternative but to confront his enemy once more and to decide the issue once for all. He organised a large army and set for Siffin to meet Mu'awiyah and his army but had to engage himself in a bitter encounter with the Khawārij who tried to halt his march. In this encounter the Khawārij present there were killed to their last but it had such a deep effect on the minds of 'Alī's army that they asked him to allow to retire and relax because their hearts were bleeding. As a result 'Alī had to postpone this expedition.

Tāhā Husayn after conducting a detailed study of 'Alī's financial policy has arrived at the conclusion that it was closer to the one adopted by 'Abū Bakr. He emptied Bait al-Hal no sooner than the money got spent which was collected in it. The inflow of money in to Kūfah being great the life of the people became luxurious day by day. Mu'awiyah capitalised on this weak point. In bribing close associates of 'Alī he achieved considerable success. Contrary to it, 'Alī was far from thinking in these terms. Tāhā Husayn says that the situation was made explosive by the rebirth of the Khawārij Movement. Its leaders were set against 'Alī to revenge the death of those killed in encounters with his army. 'Alī had, all along his caliphate, to face great difficulties in subduing them. Then 'Alī's governor of an Iraqi province, Masqalah Bin Hubayrah al-Ghībānī, abdicated in favour of Mu'awiyah who received him as usual. From these developments Tāhā Husayn wants to impress on the reader that Mu'awiyah was fighting for 'Dunya' (worldly pleasures) and 'Alī for 'Dīn' (religious cause).

1. Alī wa Banūh: P : 107-111.

2. Ibid: P : 112-115.

3. Ibid: P : 116-120.

4. Ibid: P : 121-122.

5. Ibid: P : 121-

6. Ibid: P : 124-126.

7. Ibid: P : 126-128.

8. Ibid: P : 128.

The position of 'Abd-Allāh Bin 'Abbās in religious & hierarchy and his scholarship has been responsible for inducing almost all Muslim writers of the later period to abstain from writing or commenting on the treacherous role he played with regard to 'Alī and the revival of heathenic prejudices this role was productive of. This credit goes to 'Abū Ḥusayn that he has unveiled many aspects of the 'Fitnah' which were hitherto hidden from the general readership. Bin 'Abbās was 'Alī's governor of Basrah. He amassed a wealth to the tune of six million Dirhams by misappropriation. 'Alī, as he was unlike Mu'awiyah, demanded the income - expenditure statement which he did not furnish. Although Sa'd Ibn 'Abbās tried to absolve himself of the charge of corruption, yet he could not convince 'Alī and he pressed hard for furnishing of the requisite statement. As a result 'Abd-Allāh Bin 'Abbās ~~was~~ relinquished his office and lived a luxurious life at Makkah. 'Abū Ḥusayn has conducted a deep study of the heathenic prejudices which the role of Bin 'Abbās was productive of at Basrah. -1- and the consequences which it later led to. Though it sent chill down the spine -2- of 'Alī, yet he was in a position to cope with the situation but for the dis- -3- obedience of the 'Iraqī's that proved a rebuffing factor.

Giving an account of the administrative policies of 'Alī, 'Abū Ḥusayn says -4- that they were fully inkeeping with those of 'Umar. He encouraged honest and able -5- governors, reprimanded uncorrupt and inefficient ones, even put them behind the -6- bars for their undesirable actions, always uphold the fundamental rights of the -7- people and directed his governors to do the same, & safeguard property, life and -8- honour of the defeated enemy, and never showed slackness in enforcing the -9- religious canons and carrying out the 'Hadd. -10-

The valiant hero of Islam had at last to pay the price of pursuing the strict Islam <sup>in</sup> policy in the face of the cunning diplomacy of his opponents. On

1. 'Alī wa Basrah: 113-146.
2. Ibid: 117-149.
3. Ibid: 150-157.
4. Ibid: 161.
5. Ibid: 165.
6. Ibid: 166.
7. Ibid: 164.
8. Ibid: 167-168.
9. Ibid: 169.
10. Ibid: 158.



Remained 17,40 AH when he was leaving Fajr Prayers in a mosque of Kūfah he fell to the deep cut of 'Abī al-Jaḥmīn Bin Maḡ Maljan's sword and breathed his last after two days. Tāhā Ḥusayn has given a detailed account of the conspiracy hatched by the Khawārij to do away with 'Alī, 'Amr Bin Al-'Ās and Muḡ Ma'awiyah. The latter two escaped the <sup>burnt</sup> ~~burnt~~ of their anger but 'Alī fell a victim to the most <sup>-1-</sup> onslaught of the Khawārij.

One misfortune leads to another which is followed by yet one more and this process continues till it becomes an unending chain. The pace of the mis-  
happ is accelerated and the gravity magnified by the cunning tactics of self  
centred opportunities to fulfill their personal ends. So was the case with  
Islamic history, The unwork policies of 'Uthmān led to the birth of Fitnah which  
we ultimately cost him his life. This assassination led to aberrant practices  
and malicious plans killing thousands of innocent Muslims and it finally costing  
Muḡ Hasan his life by poisoning and Muḡ Husayn by treacherous killing. To complete  
the study of Fitnah, Tāhā Ḥusayn has given a passing account of the aftermath  
of the assassination of 'Alī.

During the Khilāfah of 'Alī the word 'Shi'ah' was used for its dictionary  
meaning i.e. a group. It was used for the group of 'Alī and Mu'awiyah alike. But  
later this word came specifically to denote a group attached to 'Alī and his family <sup>-2-</sup>

After the death of 'Alī Shi'ah chose Hasan as their Imam. He was personally  
inclined towards entering into some sort of agreement with Mu'awiyah to save the  
Ummah from further dissent and blood shed. This he did on certain terms the  
most important of which was that which guaranteed uninterrupted right of rule  
for Mu'awiyah during his life time and provided for referring the election of  
of Khilāfah to the people after Mu'awiyah was dead. The agreement was finalised  
in <sup>-3-</sup> ~~Nabīl-Jamal~~ 41 AH. But soon after it, Mu'awiyah's policies became clear enough  
to indicate his intention to override the terms of the agreement. He practised

1. 'Alī Ma Barāhī PP: 182-192.

2. Ibid: PP: 189-192.

3. " " 192-204

every kind of intimidation to force the Quraysh to give him their oath of loyalty. His subsequent policies towards them were nothing for him except their contempt and hatred and they increasingly became militant. As a result of it Kūfah and Basrah emerged as the two strong holds of the Shi'ah Movement. Tahā Musayn has given a detailed account of the policies of Mu'awiyah's governors of these two provinces. The governor of Kūfah was Hubayrah bin al-Buhārī and of Basrah Abd-Allah bin 'Amr. Both of them adopted lenient postures towards their subjects so that the Shi'ah openly criticized the policies of Mu'awiyah and the oppressive attitude of some of his governors. In 45 AH Zayd was appointed as governor of Basrah. In 50 AH the governor of Kūfah passed away and it also passed on to the care of Zayd. At both the places his policies towards the Shi'ah were very hard, repressive and unbecoming.

The blow of greatest magnitude to the institution of Khilafah was done by the appointment of Yazid as Mu'awiyah's heir apparent. Soon after Mu'awiyah decided upon the issue of his son being his successor, he started spade work by assessing the possible reaction of his governors. His evaluation revealed to him that his governors were not antagonistic towards his plan. As such he decided to proceed forward with his plan. He thought of Hasan when he considered to be the major hurdle in his way. This hurdle he set aside by planning a conspiracy to poison him. He got his plan dreadfully executed and Hasan got killed in 50 AH. Then the Shi'ah chose Abu' Abd-Allah al-Musayn Bin 'Ali as their new Imam in the same year.

After conducting an in-depth comparative study of the characters and temperaments of Hasan and Musayn, Tahā Musayn has proceeded to give an account of the coercive policies of Mu'awiyah which he pursued to see his son installed as king. To achieve this end he had to kill innocent people, forbid what was lawful and make unlawful what was forbidden. Summarizing Mu'awiyah's rule

- 
1. 'Ali wa Basrah: PP: 216-220.
  2. Ibid: PP: 232-237.
  3. Ibid: PP: 211-212.
  4. Ibid: PP: 213-225.

Tahā Husayn has rightly made it clear that it was in no way Islamic.

To complete the study of 'al-Fitnah al-Kubrā' Tahā Husayn has given a very concise account of the struggle between Husayn and Yazīd Bin Mu'awiyah. The Kufans repeatedly urged Husayn to guide and command them. He sent Muslim Bin 'Aqīl to Kūfah to assess the situation. 'Aqīl sent him a letter wherein he gave a detailed account of his achievements and urged him to come to Kūfah immediately. Husayn set for Kūfah but was stopped by the army of Yazīd at 'Karbalah'. His plea to allow him either to meet Yazīd or to return to Hīdžā or to some border town was rejected and a seventy two of his companions were killed along with him at Karbalah.

Towards the close of the book Tahā Husayn has given a summary description of the heathen prejudices for which these unfortunate incidents proved a cause of rebirth. The majority of the Arabs behaved as if they had never heard of Islām.

It is in this way <sup>that</sup> Tahā Husayn has conducted the study of the life of 'Alī and his two sons and of the events and incidents which finally changed the course of the Islamic history, brought to an end the recently begun experiment of the Muslims with the Khilāfah and replaced many of the Islamic principles with heathen prejudices. This survey will make it clear that Tahā Husayn has, throughout the book, tried to bring truth out of the narrations which have come down to us. His rejecting one and ~~accepting~~ accepting the other or ~~rejecting~~ rejecting both and giving his own conclusions are in a majority of the cases sound. He substantiates his view point with the historical evidence or the inner evidence found in the incident itself. He has also analysed the character of a person to reach <sup>to a</sup> right conclusion. There is a difference of opinion whether or not Zubayr refrained from taking part in the

1. 'Alī Mubārak Wa Banāt: PP: 246-251.

2. Ibid: PP: 252-253.

3. Ibid: PP: 256-273.

'war of Jemel'. Tāhā Husayn says, "We are inclined towards the first former narration (i.e. he left the battle field) because he was of tender heart, very much God fearing and eager enough to guard his status in the eyes of the Prophet". Clearing the position whether or not 'Alī appointed anyone as the governor of Kūfah as he says: "I believe that 'Alī sent none to Kūfah but allowed Abū Mūsā to continue as the people there were much more contented with him".

While describing any event Tāhā Husayn has analysed the character of the hero of the event. Mu'awiyah was the strongest enemy of 'Alī because he commanded a faithful, loyal and powerful army. Describing him Tāhā Husayn says, "..... And he was Mu'awiyah. It is possible for us to guess him (and his capabilities) only when we remember that he was the son of Abū Sufyān who fought the Prophet after Badr and fought very well, did not enter the fold of Islam except when he saw no alternative and had to choose between death and Islam. And Mu'awiyah inherited from him vigour, sturdiness, tricks, diplomacy, cunningness and pride..... Giving a comparative study of 'Alī and Mu'awiyah he says, "And when we add to it that there was obvious and far reaching difference in the characters and policies of 'Alī and Mu'awiyah ... 'Alī believed in the Khilāfah on the same pattern on which the Muslims knew it in the days of Abū Bakr and 'Umar and early days of 'Uthmān .... As for Mu'awiyah, the least that can be said about his character is that it was of a cunning Arab .... what is your opinion about a man to whom his brother 'Aqīl comes in worn out clothes and he commands his son Hanzal: "When my allowance is released go to the market with your whole and buy for him new clothes and a pair of new saddles and do not go beyond that? And what is your opinion about another person to whom this 'Aqīl comes after getting disillusioned with his brother and he does away to him one hundred thousand Dirhams from the 'Bait al-Mal'?"

1. 'Alī wa Banūh: PP: 149.

2. Ibid: PP: 26.

3. Ibid: PP: 61.

4. Ibid: PP: 64.

5. Ibid: PP: 65.

The analysis given above must not make us believe that Tāhā Husayn has not erred in drawing conclusions and in presenting his observations. In fact he has erred at a number of places. It is difficult to agree with Tāhā Husayn that the strategy to raise the Qur'an on pikes was chalked out by 'Amr Bin al-'As in consultation with Ash'ath Bin Qays, one of the commanders of Ali's army. Tāhā Husayn substantiates his claim by the fact that during the truce people from both the sides visited each other and exchanged ideas. But only this much is insufficient to substantiate such an important inference. It is on this inference that Tāhā Husayn maintains that the Proposal drafted for the appointment of 'Hakam' and the terms of reference laid down for it were also the handiwork of these "two most cunning Arabs" designed to be "most fruitful for Mu'awiyah and most damaging for 'Ali". In fact one wrong conclusion leads to another. It should have been borne in the mind that according to Tāhā Husayn himself, the details of the drafts were worked out by 'Abd-Allah Bin Qays from the side of 'Ali and 'Amr Bin al-'As from the side of Mu'awiyah. Ash'ath Bin Qays figured nowhere in this arrangement.

Tāhā Husayn has accused a majority of the Sahābah living outside Madīnah of the duplicity in character saying that they showed pretended simplicity before 'Umar to convince him of their religiosity and when they were away they indulged in luxuries. This is a tall claim and such a claim should have been substantiated with reliable evidences which Tāhā Husayn unfortunately has not done.

He says that the flow of money into the Muslim World was responsible for dividing the society into the groups of haves and have nots and because of it bitter encounter took place between them. Again it should have been borne in mind that the flow of money took place during the Caliphate and of Abu Bakr and 'Umar as well but it did not give rise to skirmishes nor to speak of encounters. The basic cause behind all this was their sound economy.

1. 'Ali Wa Rashid: PP: 88-89

2. Ibid: PP: 88-89.

3. Ibid: PP: 88-89.

4. Ibid: PP: 187.

5. Ibid: PP: 171.

policy drafted cautiously in accordance with the Islamic principles. Unfortunately this was not adhered to by the later Khalifah.

Yahya Husayn has erred beyond imagination where he refers to the effect the unfortunate happenings had on 'Ali. He says, "And had 'Ali responded to the call of his inner conscience, he would have absolved his followers of the oath of the loyalty given by them to him and would have spent his remaining days in worshipping God and waiting for the life hereafter. But alas! his conscience had believed in the Truth and that desisting from what helping it was a cowardice and sin". Alas! Yahya Husayn's version has put things in a reverse and distorted position. One is pained to notice his expressing sorrow for 'Ali because he stood firmly against injustice and because he did not fear rebuke or repression for its sake. Would Yahya Husayn be satisfied had 'Ali compromised with the intriguing situation? Islam teaches: "Kalimah al-Haq" Ind-al-Sultan al-M Ja'ir Sadaqah (To speak truth before a tyrant king is a Sadaqah for Mu'min). Then what when the Sultan was 'Adil (just) and the enemy was Ja'ir (tyrant and unjust).

'Ali was a straight forward administrator who knew nothing except the Truth and did nothing except 'the Right'. He had to face an extremely cunning Arab in the person of Mu'awiyah who did all that promised desired result and who cared for nothing except his personal ends. Yahya Husayn has done well when he has analysed the personality traits of both of them and judged their policies in the light of available authentic historical data. A fabricated letter was sent to 'Ali by Mu'awiyah as Masqadah though it was written by 'Ali's governor of Egypt. The contents of the letter showed a drift from 'Ali's policy and smelted of dissidence. Yahya Husayn says that 'Ali could immediately find out the truth and declared that he knew Gays better than any one else. But his close associates took it for its face value and pressed 'Ali hard to dismiss him. He had to relent and as a result dismissed him. It is hard to ~~reconcile~~ agree with the inference of Yahya Husayn. One wonders how he thought 'Ali

1. 'Ali Wa Damih: PP: 180.  
2. Ibid: PP: 131.

such a simpton as not to send even a spy to investigate in to the matter when he was convinced that the letter was a fabricated? Was 'Alī a stooge in the hands of his counsellors to such an unimaginable degree? And if 'Alī was discharging his duties as a Khalīfah in this way how could he manage to run it properly in the face of the brutal diplomacy of tricks and delusions by Mu'āwiyah? In deriving this conclusion Tāhā Husayn has been misled by his rashness.

Giving a brief survey of Mu'āwiyah's rule, Tāhā Husayn has tried to give an account of the conditions in which he pursued the policies of oppression, excess, intimidation, coercion and corruption. We are in full agreement with Tāhā Husayn so far as the adoption of these practices by Mu'āwiyah is concerned, but as far the circumstances in which he pursued them according to Tāhā Husayn, we are constrained to differ with him. He tries to explain erst as to why Mu'āwiyah pursued these policies saying that the ~~masses~~ conquest had resulted in the influx of the defeated persons in to the provinces and a mixed generation of them and of the Arabs had cropped up. This had left the people with only two alternatives :

(1) either to change the character of the defeated and impose upon them their own. This was impossible ;

(2) or to change their own character and to adopt that of the defeated. This is what we have not seen or heard of till this day. The third option was to agree to give up something of their own and to adopt something of the non-Arabs. This would make the society ~~not~~ neither Islamic nor anything like that of the Roman or the Persian. One would like to ask why there was not the same option open which was successfully adopted and put in practice by Al-Shaykhān, 'Uthmān (in first ~~ten~~ years of his Khilāfah) and 'Alī? If they could manage it, why not any one else? In fact that course is nerve consuming and requires its propounder to be a model himself before he can ask the people to follow it. It is very sad to note that Tāhā Husayn has chose to ~~not~~ close this best piece of

1. Majalah al-Kitāb: Egypt: July: 1951: PP: 1894.

2. Alī Wa Banah: P: 1254.

research with such an unfounded assumption.

While speaking about the loose administration and inept policies of 'Uthman in his book "Uthman", Taha Husayn has in unreserved and unqualified terms, criticised them. He has missed no chance to highlight them and fix their responsibility on 'Uthman because he was the head of the state. But we see his <sup>ing</sup> adopt a different attitude regarding 'Ali and his policies. Nearly on every crucial occasion 'Ali ~~could~~ could not command the loyalty of his people. In fact he has time and again complained of the non-compliance of his orders from his troops. 'Ali's bravery, honesty of purpose, religiosity, scrupulousness and justice cannot be contested on any count but it seems as if the post he was holding, perhaps, demanded more administrative capabilities than he possessed. This fact Taha Husayn has nowhere mentioned while he has been very hard in commenting on the weaknesses of 'Ali's opponents. Throughout the book a pro-'Ali tilt is manifested. This fact has rendered the scales of his book uneven.

---

\*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*

\*

\*



AL-SHAJHAN

Al-Shajhan is the last book on biography that Taha Husayn wrote. He wrote the book in 1960. In the foreword to the book, Taha Husayn states that after having written on the lives of the Prophet, 'Uyayn and 'Ali he found it an obligation to write about Abu Bakr and 'Umar (al-Shaykhan). He felt his conscience asking for having been unable to do so for a pretty long time. As far as the details of the events and incidents that occurred during their time are concerned, they have been very well written by the ancient and modern Muslim scholars and by the orientologists as well. Therefore, it will surely be a repetition to go into the details of these incidents and events. As such, Taha Husayn says, he has chosen to give an <sup>1-</sup>outline account of their personalities as depicted in their biographical accounts that have come down to us and as can be portrayed with the help of the details of the incidents of their times. It became imperative on the author to describe them in full detail as these two personalities had a far reaching effect on the lives and thinking of the Muslims of the <sup>2-</sup>following generations.

After <sup>3-</sup>Umayyad having assumed the charge of Khilafah 'Umar said of his predecessor, "My God shower his mercy on him. He made it (Khilafah) a difficult task for his successor". And it is a fact that 'Umar's simple character and <sup>4-</sup>unmitigated personality made it yet more difficult task. Taha Husayn says that this was the chief factor responsible for arousing later efforts as no Khalifah or king could successfully follow al-Shaykhan nor to speak of emulating them. It is this character which Taha Husayn wishes to study and portray for the reader in the <sup>5-</sup>first place and then to proceed to depict the personalities of Abu Bakr and 'Umar.

Taha Husayn has, in a bit of detail, depicted the hazardous task waiting ahead for Abu Bakr. During the very life time of the Prophet the pretenders of prophethood had deluded a large number of those 'Faithful' who had recently accepted the Faith and whose training was in its infant stage. The Infidel Umayyad

1. Al-Shajhan: PP:5-6.

2. Ibid: PP:5.

3. Ibid: PP:10.

4. Ibid: PP:10.

5. Ibid: PP:11.

sponsored by Hanzalah in Yamamah, al-Asad al-A'asī in Yammam, Talīfah of Basra Asad and Rajah (lady) of Basra Tami had achieved a considerable material success. Taha Huseyn is right in saying that the Move was politically motivated. The Qahtaniyah thought it their disgrace that the prophethood and the Khalifah be in the hands of 'Adamiyah. As if it was not enough, a majority of Bedouins defied the authority of Abū Bakr and showed their unwillingness to recognise it only if accepted from paying Zakāt. Their money was more dear to them than religion. The third problem was of despatching Umayyah Expedition to Syria as it was ordered by the Prophet himself. Thus it will be seen that Abū Bakr was faced with a number of problems, all claiming equal attention but the resources in men and material seemed to be insufficient to carry them all out at once. If he had delayed the despatch of the Umayyah Expedition so as to curb the Irtidād Move, it would have meant delaying the execution of the Prophet's Commandment. Or if he had despatched the army and waited to curb the Irtidād move till the army had returned it would have entailed sufficient scope for the move to gain momentum in due course of time after which it may have been impossible to curb it. Before all these things he had to face a difficult task in making the Muslims believe that the Prophet had actually died, that it did not mean anything derogatory to his person and that the eternity of religion was in no way affected by it as the Qurān had already made it clear.

There is no definite commandment in the Qurān and no order of the Prophet that may regulate the process of election to the Post of Khalīfah. Had there been any, there would have been no scope for discussion or dissent and we may not have the need to scrutinise the details regarding the election of Abū Bakr to the post. It must be borne in mind that the details with regard to his election contradict one another and have sprung from opposing camps each

1. Al-Shaykhani P: 15.

2. Ibid: P: 12-14.

3. Ibid: P: 16.

4. Ibid: P: 17.

5. Ibid: P: 18-20.

6. Ibid: P: 32, 48-51.

eager to establish the supremacy of its groups over the other by all means. But as it is, after the death of the Prophet, the Sahābah were faced with the most delicate and urgent task of electing a Khalīfah for themselves. Tāhā Husayn has given a vivid description of the developments in this respect and has cleared many misgivings which were given rise to by the adventurous people after the assassination of 'Umayyāh. Their factional prejudices induced them to say what was wrong and to commit what was abominable. Tāhā Husayn throughout maintains that those who could fabricate Ahādīth could also give fanciful version of the events leading to the election of Abū Bakr to the post of Khalīfah. He says that the matter is much more easy and simple than how it has been presented. There was some misunderstanding and suspicion on the part of Anṣār which Abū Bakr and 'Umar removed whereafter they readily gave their oath of loyalty to Abū Bakr. 'Alī and 'Abbas could not join them at that moment as they were engaged in 'Tajhīs wa Takfīr' of the Prophet. The other aspects of the matter as for example the theory that the Prophet had willed for Abū Bakr, 'Alī or any one else are termed as baseless by Tāhā Husayn. The simple reasoning for it, says he, is that had he intended to do so no one could deter him from doing so and had he done so no one would disobey him. He says that the important thing is that the Muslims gave their oath of loyalty to Abū Bakr. There has been a difference of opinion regarding 'Alī's oath of loyalty and this difference has been a cause of anguish for the Ummah. Tāhā Husayn, after examining the different narrations and giving an estimate of the character and the Faith of 'Alī, has rightly said that 'Alī gave his oath of loyalty without losing time as he saw that the Muslims were united on the issue. Had he not done so, it would have led to very serious consequences at that very time, but history speaks of no such thing. Instead it records that 'Alī always sincerely helped Abū Bakr in carrying out his duties. Those who say that he gave his oath of loyalty to Abū Bakr

---

1. Al-Shaykhah: PP: 36.

2. Ibid: PP: 39.

3. Ibid: PP: 39-41.

4. Ibid: PP: 36.

5. Ibid: PP: 34.

6. Ibid: PP: 27-28.

7. Ibid: PP: 34-35.

after the death of Fātimah or ~~2~~ he ~~did~~ hesitated to do so <sup>231</sup> cast aspersions on his character and <sup>-1-</sup> ~~Islam~~ which they ought not considering his close relationship with the prophet.

Tahā Husayn has given a full account of the way in which Abū Bakr managed Khilāfah and the order of priorities he set for himself. Tahā Husayn is inclined to believe that this order of priorities was the basic reason for making the Khilāfah a success. He did not lose time in despatching the Umayyah Expedition. <sup>-2-</sup>

In the given circumstances a <sup>many</sup> Sahābah advised him to delay its despatch till the Irtidād wave was curbed but his answer was firm: <sup>by</sup> "God if I apprehend that the beasts would ~~x~~ tear me to pieces yet I will not postpone the despatch of Umayyah and his <sup>army</sup>". Then he fought the Murtaddīn and brought them under ~~smack~~ control in the very short term of his Khilāfah. This, no doubt, was a miracle. <sup>-4-</sup> Tahā Husayn has rejected the contention of some writers that the Muslims in general and 'Umar in particular had ~~strongly~~ disagreed with the policy of Abū Bakr to fight the Murtaddīn who refused to pay Zakāt so long as they said 'Lā Ilāh Illā Allāh'. He says that payment of Zakāt is one of the fundamental obligations of Islam and denying it implies the denial of the whole of Islām. His position was more clear to 'Umar than to the narrators. Tahā Husayn has quoted the behaviour of 'Umar at the time of Hudaibiyyah Pact and his attitude towards the army personnel who drank in Egypt as an evidence in support of his inference. <sup>-5-</sup> <sup>-6-</sup>

Khālīd Bin Walīd was a sword of Islam which never knew to remain in its sheath. Under his command Allāh bestowed many victories on the Muslims. But some of his habits were such which caused difference of ~~x~~ opinion between Abū Bakr and 'Umar regarding him. His fondness to kill enemies even after they had a cause to be forgiven, to marry excessively and to demonstrate haughtiness earned for him powerful jolts from Abū Bakr and severe ~~smack~~ criticism by 'Umar. <sup>But Umar</sup> ~~He~~ went a step further and many times pleaded with Abū Bakr his dismissal from the

1. Al-Shaykhānī P: 146.

2. Ibid: P: 155.

3. Ibid: P: 158.

4. Ibid: P: 159-66.

5. Ibid: P: 167-68.

6. Ibid: P: 168-69.

command which was not acceded to by the latter. Tāhā Husayn has given a full account of the difference of opinion between al-Shaykhān and has reached the conclusion that both considered well, thought in the best interest of Ummah and were eager to please Allāh.

Tāhā Husayn has given a detailed description of the war strategy of Abū Bakr. He says that the main reason to direct his armies to Syria instead of 'Irāq was to execute the commandment of the Prophet in its true spirit. The Chief factor for strengthening the will power of the Muslims in the face of their enemies was their deep rooted belief in the Qurānic injunction that if they were sincere in fighting for the cause of the Faith the victory shall be theirs.

As far other policies of Abū Bakr, the one sentence which he spoke while delivering his first sermon as Khalīfah explains their basis. He said, "Verily I am a follower and not an initiator". This means that he set for himself the model of the prophet to be followed and that he tried his best to uphold the legacy. During Khalīfah his living standard did not change for the better. He continued to pursue trade to earn livelihood for himself and his family till, after some time, the Muslims fixed for him an allowance of two thousand five hundred Dirhams per annum. When he felt that his death was near he returned the whole amount he had received as an allowance from Bait al-Māl. His financial policy was simple. Whatever, was received in kind or cash in Bait al-Māl he distributed it equally amongst the Muslims. Those who re-entered the fold of Islām after committing Kufr Irtidād were not allowed to join the Muslim army. The Qurān was compiled in one volume during his Caliphate.

Tāhā Husayn is of the considered opinion that the most commendable service rendered to Islām by anyone after the death of the Prophet was that Abū Bakr

1. Al-Shaykhān: 74.

2. Ibid: 74-95.

3. Ibid: 85.

4. Ibid: 99-100.

5. Ibid: 104-105.

6. Ibid: 108.

7. Ibid: 109.

8. Ibid: 110-111.

9. Ibid: 111.

10. Ibid: 111-113.

-1-

nominated 'Umar for the post of Khalifah. He brushes aside all objections of the critics who ~~are~~ accuse him of inventing something which Islam did not stand for. He says that his nominating 'Umar was sincere advice to the Muslims who were left at ~~least~~ liberty either to accept or to reject it. And this is fact ~~x~~ that the Muslims one and all endorsed his view point.

-2-

'Umar Bin al-Khattab was twenty six when he entered the fold of Islam. Taha HUSAYN has given a detailed account of his psychological traits. 'Umar inherited from his father stubbornness, sturdiness, sternness and will power. Though the commonly accepted narration about the immediate cause of his entry into the fold of the ~~the~~ Islam cannot be fully relied upon, yet it gives an account of the sternness with which people characterised him during the Jahiliyah Period. These characteristics were the main cause of his framing clear cut policies and adopting unfettered attitudes. He never ~~hesitated~~ hesitated in expressing his opinions publicly even during the Prophet's time. His clear cut opinions at the time of 'Hudaybiyah Pact', about wine, Hijab, the Prisoners of war of Badr, and Muna'iqin are well known in Islamic history. As an ~~adviser~~ advisor of Abu Bakr he expressed himself clearly. However, Islam transformed 'Umar into a completely a different model in certain respects. History does not know about him having wept ~~any~~ any day in Jahiliyah while as a Muslim he wept whenever he ~~heard~~ heard the Quran especially the verses regarding life hereafter.

However, great, magnificent and impressive any ideology may appear in theory it is worth nothing unless put into practice. And it shall never be put into practice by the common masses unless its propounders give the lead. This reality always occupied the conscience of 'Umar and he always tried to follow the Quran and the Sunnah in letter and spirit. Taha Husayn has given full details of 'Umar's

---

1. Al-Shaykhani PP: 117-119.

2. Ibid: PP: 119.

3. Ibid: PP: 124.

4. Ibid: PP: 132.

5. Ibid: PP: 134.

6. Ibid: PP: 134.

7. Ibid: PP: 135-136.

8. Ibid: PP: 134.

9. Ibid: PP: 140-141.

10. Ibid: PP: 132.

11. Ibid: PP: 132-133.

12.

private life during his Khilāfah.<sup>1</sup> He lived the life of the poorest of the poor  
 -1-  
 in his domain and never thought of receiving Rait al-Māl for his family or  
 -2-  
 relatives. The sole inducing factor was the Quranic verse which reads that those  
 who spend a luxurious life in this world forfeit their claim in the life here-  
 after. The sirah and the life of Abū Bakr were contributory factors towards  
 -3-  
 this end. During the nine month spell of acute draught in Hidjāz, Majd and Tihāmah  
 he suffered with his people and shared their lot. Tāhā Ḥusayn has very well  
 said that there have been many just kings in human history who have strived  
 hard to help their subjects during such draughts but we have never seen or  
 -4-  
 heard of any king sharing the lot of their subjects. Add to this the fact that  
 whatever he had ~~xxx~~ received from Rait al-Māl as allowance during his Khilāfah  
 he directed his son to stand in surety for returning the same to Rait al-Māl  
 after he had breathed his last. This he did to follow the example set by Abū  
Bakr. Both the Khulafā' thought the allowance to be a debt which they owed to  
 the Muslims and which should be repayed.

Umar was given to express himself freely both before the Prophet and  
Abū Bakr. Not taking of a different stand vis-a-vis the policies of the former  
 was a sin and in the case of latter a privilege. This is why that we see him  
 faithfully following the Prophet and, where conditions so demanded, taking a  
 different stand from the policies of Abū Bakr.<sup>2</sup> He reversed the policy of Abū  
Bakr vis-a-vis those Muslims who had re-entered the fold of Islam after committing  
 -5-  
Irtidād and allowed them to ~~re-enter~~ join the Muslim army. His stand about Ḥalīd  
Bin Walīd is well known. He faithfully followed Abū Bakr in this matter through-  
 out his Khilāfah. And when he was himself Khilāfah he did not lose time in  
 -6-  
 implementing his own stand. Again, he differed with the economic policy of Abū  
Bakr. Abū Bakr distributed equally to all Muslims the reserves of Rait al-Māl.  
 As against it Umar prepared a comprehensive list in order ~~more~~ of priority that  
 was regulated by a persons relationship with the Prophet and the hardships he

---

1. Al-Shaykhani PP: 145.  
 2. Ibid: PP: 146.  
 3. Ibid: P: 147.  
 4. Ibid: PP: 148.  
 5. Ibid: P: 157-162.  
 6. Ibid: PP: 163.

had endured for the cause of Islam. Tāhā Husayn has fully described these and such other aspects of 'Umar's administration. He has also given a comprehensive account of the fiscal policy adopted by 'Umar which turned the Islamic state into a welfare state in its widest possible meaning. After estimating his fiscal policy Tāhā Husayn has rightly said that, as far as his knowledge goes, he does not know of any kind of government, from ancient times upto date, that may have even thought of such a programme. In unequivocal terms, Tāhā Husayn declares that the system adopted by 'Umar remains yet to be paralleled despite the tall claims of the rulers.

-2-

The events during the Khilāfah of 'Umar were shaping the history in such a way that encounters with the enemies of Islam had become inevitable and one event led to another. Tāhā Husayn has given a brief study of such events. He says that it was a cherished desire of 'Umar to see an end to these wars and secure his domain against foreign invasions. He wanted, time and again, long that an ocean of fire was created by Allah between him and his many enemies so that

-3-

none could attack each other. But this did not materialise and he had to plan for those wars which resulted in victories for the Muslims in the East and the West. 'Umar took every precaution against any excess because he was of the firm belief that he will have to answer for these excess on the day of

-4-

R e s u r a c t i o n .

Tāhā Husayn has given an account of 'Umar's administrative policy in a bit of detail. As already made clear, 'Umar was himself above board which bestowed upon him the moral courage to be strict to his governors. He would castigate any person who defied law & no matter of what rank he may have been. He kept strict vigil on his governors and sent spies to enquire about the complaints he received against any of them. Muhammad Bin Musaylamah is a known figure in this behalf. He would keep a record of their property both before they were appointed to the post and after they were relieved of it. In

---

1. Al-Shaykh: PP: 180-187.

2. Ibid: 188-189.

3. Ibid: PP: 169.

4. Ibid: PP: 173.

5. Ibid: PP: 173-174.



case he was satisfied that some of the property was acquired by them through illegitimate means he would seize it and distribute it among the people. He did so in the case of Sa'id bin Abi Waqqas. (1) He strictly forbade his governors to create any sort of barrier between them and their people. (2) During Hajj days he would meet the people and enquire about the conduct and character of the governors. In case he found it necessary to order requitel against any of them he would not hesitate. (3) He was very vigilant and cautious in his dealings with the Sahābah, the Qurashites and the governors. He neither allowed them to go astray nor asked them to do so. He would neither appoint any prominent Sahābi as a governor nor allow him to reside out side Madīnah or Makkah. He was always keen to see that the regulations were observed and Hadd carried out on the defaulters. This is why people would say: "Li Durrah 'Umar Ahību Min Sayfihim" (I fear lack of 'Umar more than your sword). (4)

This harsh principled and disciplined course which 'Umar set for himself and his people earned for him the greatest respect of his people and he continued to be a cherished personality in the annals of Islam upto date. But, as it was, there were many people who had lost their authority and had accepted Islam unwillingly and prejudices had blurred the truth in the eyes of many more. Harmaḡhān was a Persian governor who, while fighting the muslims, got imprisoned and his armies defeated. To save his life he accepted Islam. Abū Lailū, Juḡaynah and Ka'b al-Ahbar were Dhīnīs. All of them nurtured a grudge in their hearts against Islam and the muslims and jointly hatched a conspiracy to kill 'Umar. Abū Lailū struck 'Umar in his belly when he was leading Fajr prayers. He was injured on Wednesday and succumbed to his injuries on Thursday. (5)

During his discussions on different aspects of 'Umar's life and administration Taha Husayn has cleared certain misconceptions and deduced certain conclusions.

A narration goes that during the nine month draught 'Umar prayed for rain taking

1. Al-Shaykhani: P: 203.

2. Ibid: P: 202-204.

3. Ibid: P: 208.

4. Ibid: P: 234-235.

5. Ibid: P: 237.

6. Ibid: P: 252-259.

7. Ibid: P: 262.

237

the hand of 'Abbas in his own and interceding Allāh. Tāhā Husayn terms it as  
 (1)  
 baseless and a later fabrication to exalt Bani 'Abbas. After being wounded, 'Umar  
 ordered that after his death he be given death bath and sprinkled in the same  
 way as the Muslims dying a natural death are given. Tāhā Husayn infers from it  
 that martyr in Islam is not only that person who gets killed while fighting  
 -2-  
 the enemies of Islam. During nine months of the draught 'Umar made it binding on  
 the rich to feed the poor and exhausted whole funds of the Bait al-Māl. To Tāhā  
 Husayn this means that the Islamic State is bound to provide the necessities of  
 life and, if need arises, it can forcibly collect funds to meet the requirements  
 -3-  
 on the poor. Throughout the book he has used the word 'Ruḍiyah' for a narration that  
 sounded authentic to him and 'Zā'im al-'Iḥwāh' for the one which he thought was  
 fabricated or 'weak'. He has even termed many narrations as fabricated saying  
 that they were product of the later period owing their origin to the political  
 rivalries. Such examples are abundant in the book.

But Tāhā Husayn has erred where he tries to divide the rule of 'Umar into  
 the two compartments of 'Dīn' and 'Dunyā', confining worship of Allāh into the four  
 -4-  
 walls of the mosque or, at the most, to the matters concerning one's private life.  
 It is a fact that Islam does not know these barriers. In Islam one worships Allāh  
 when he conducts business in an honest way, performs his assigned job to the  
 best of his capacity, legislates in accordance with Islam, executes the legislation  
 scrupulously, offers prayers in the mosque, performs Hajj, marries in accordance  
 with Shari'ah and so on. Confining religion to mosque and leaving rest of the  
 field open for the man is a later innovation which does, in no way, conform with  
 the basic concept of Islam. Accordingly 'Umar could never think that while leading  
 the prayers and carrying out the Shari'ah was doing a religious job and while planning  
 financial, political and social policies he was doing a job of Dunyā (World).

'Umar, no doubt, was very strict in carrying out the 'Hadd' but not to an extent  
 to which Tāhā Husayn wants us to believe. While in Egypt his son 'Abd-al-

---

1. Al-Shaykhān: P: 151, 215.

2. Ibid: P: 264-265.

3. Ibid: P: 217.

4. Ibid: P: 218-223.

Bahman took some fluid which tasted like wine and had a toxic effect.  
 He went to the governor 'Umar Bin al-'As and apprised him of the situation.  
 He carried out a Hadd of eighty lashes on him and shaved his head off.  
 But this he did in the court yard of his house. On coming to know that  
 his governor had carried the Hadd on him not in the presence of the  
 people, but in his court yard 'Umar thought that it was a preferential  
 treatment which was meted out to his son perhaps because of him. He  
 scolded 'Umar and order him to exile his son to Madinah. On reaching  
 Madinah, ~~Umar bin al-'As~~ 'Umar rebuked him  
 and after one month's stay in Madinah he breathed his last as a result  
 as a result of fever. This is the real situation of the case. It is  
 fantastic to say as Tahn Thumayn has done that on reaching Madinah 'Umar  
 carried out the Hadd on him afresh and he died of it. This is impossible  
 and unimaginable about 'Umar. Islam does not provide for a double Hadd  
 on the same crime. The Hadd for wine is not meant to kill the defaulter.  
 This position was more clear to 'Umar than anyone else. 'Abd-Allah Bin  
 'Umar has also negated it and said that his brother died of ~~the~~ fever  
 after one month of his return from Egypt and no Hadd was carried <sup>out</sup> on him  
 him afresh.

---

1. Al-Thaykhan: 1/12 218-221.

\*\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*\*  
 \* \*  
 \* \*  
 \* \*  
 \* \*

AL AYYAM

The publication of Tāhā Husayn's book, 'Fī al-ghī'r al-Jāhilī', in 1926 was productive of such a chain of unending violent storms of protests that forced him to tender his resignation from the chair of Arabic Literature which he was holding at that time in the Egyptian University. His resignation, however, was not accepted by Ahmad Artfī Sayid, the then President of the Academic Council of the University. He was ~~not~~ advised to avail of the leave facility and enjoy the vacations in France. Tāhā Husayn was greatly perturbed with the development and, highly emotional as he was, his mental peace was disturbed. To forget one's grief in such conditions it is the call of one's inner self to seek resort in past memories and so did Tāhā Husayn when he dictated the first ~~series~~ volume of Al-Ayyam in Paris in six days' time in December, 1926. It was published in eight issues of Al-Hilāl from December, 1926 to July, 1927 and was published in book form in 1929.

Upto 1933 Tāhā Husayn remained a non-Wafdist. However, in March, 1933, at the insistence of Kahhās Nāghā, he accepted the editorship of 'al-Kawkab al-Sharq' - the mouth organ of the Wafd. This marked the beginning of his formal relations with the Wafd and from this date till the end of his formal political career in 1951, he remained an active Wafdist. In 1937 there were bitter clashes between Blue Shirts (Wafdist Volunteers) and Green Shirts (Royal Palace Volunteers) in which the rioters committed loot, arson and killings. Tāhā Husayn's personal library at Arts College was attacked and partially damaged. This created a deep sense of apathy and pathos in him. As a result he took ~~more~~ refuge in Europe. Here he turned to his past again and dictated the second volume of Al-Ayyam in 1938 in nine days' time.

1. Article captioned "Inda-Hā-Tahhaddathu Tāhā Husayn 'An Kutubih' by 'Abd al-Fattāh

Shi al al-Fattāh'. Published in Daily 'al-Fajr' 'Abū Dhābī on December 6, 1979 (Based on an interview).

2. Ibid: PP:

3. 'Abd al-Jahman al-Badawi: Ilā Tāhā Husayn PP: Preface.

4. Daily 'al-Fajr' 'Abū Dhābī: December 6, 1979.

As such it is clear that both the volumes of his autobiography have been<sup>240</sup>  
dictated against the background of bitter mis-understanding; between him and  
his readers in the case of the first volume and between him and his political  
opponents in the case of the second volume. The bitter taste created by these  
unhappy incidents was ever present in his mouth during the dictation of this  
work and it had continued to irritate his tongue. This Tāhā Husayn has himself  
accepted though in a subdued form.

While at al-Azhar, Tāhā Husayn heard his brother and some of his class  
mates talking with high regard about Shaykh 'Alī al-Marsafī who was a devout  
disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abdūh. Gradual association with Shaykh al-Marsafī  
made both the teacher and the student disciple beloved of Tāhā Husayn. The  
two lectures delivered by Shaykh 'Abdūh towards the end of the year 1905 were  
attended by him. The years 1903 to 1907, during which Tāhā Husayn studied at  
al-Azhar, were formative years of his personality. Al-Ayyām has borne a deep  
impression of the ideas of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abdūh regarding religion, society,  
education and literature.

The first volume of the book covers the childhood of Tāhā Husayn. At the  
first instance it is difficult to say whether the author has created  
vagueness in the description of his past by using third form of narration  
instead of first form; or he has done so to uphold his self respect and  
honour. While giving a brief appraisal of Tāhā Husayn's personality we have  
maintained that he was always eager to establish his dignity and did not allow  
anyone - not even his own self, as far as possible, to cast aspersions on it.  
This fact further establishes our view point. Furthermore the employment of  
third form has helped Tāhā Husayn to enable himself to speak to the reader  
without projecting his adult personality into the experiences of his childhood.

While reading al-Ayyām the first impression gathered by a reader is that  
it makes a bit of conversation with him and, at times, whispers in a very pleasant  
1. Daily 'Al-Fair' Abū Ḥabīb, December, 6, 1979.



By not naming his village it seems as if Tāhā Husayn has <sup>1</sup>strived to make the description general for all the Egyptian village and has achieved considerable success in this. The village of his childhood was very small whose boundaries seemed to him covered by reed plants on the one side and a canal on the other. He says about the village as he knew it in his childhood:

"He also remembers that the stalks of this fence were so close as though knit together so that he was not in a position to slip through its gaps. He also recalls that the stalks of this fence were stretched on his left so far that he could not know its ending; and from his right it stretched to the end of the world, and the end of the world from this direction was near. Because, with the advancement in his age, he could discover for himself the fact that it reached as far as the canal. It influenced his life - or say his imagination - greatly".

But with the advancement in his age he was able to discover much more about the village which was full of lively scenes and absorbing characters. The village poet and the absorption with which people listened his epic and romantic verses about Khalīfah, Abū Zayd and Diyāb have been described against proper background.

The most vivid depiction of the procession taken out in the village at the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday is a marvellous piece of sensory description and elaborately paints the religious phenomenon of the Egyptian villages. It had deteriorated to such a level that the ceremonial exhibition of innovations was a greater concern for them than the transmission of its real message. In this procession Tāhā Husayn's Asharite brother was elected "the Khalīfah" and made to ride a horse specially decorated for the occasion. The pleasure it gave to the family and the joyous atmosphere prevalent on the occasion in the village has been described in a thrilling manner. He says:

1. Al-Ayyām: P. 14. (Vol. 1)

2. Ibid: P. 15-16.

3. Ibid: P. 15-6.

And when the day came and half spent, the family hastened to its food and took only a little of it. The Asharite youth put on his new cloths, put on a green turban for the day and threw around his shoulders a Kashmiri Shawl. His mother prayed and recited incantations and his father, in a state of pleasure and excitement, came in and went out. And at length when the appearance and clothing of the youth was exactly like that as he wished, he came out and found at the door a horse waiting for him. Awaiting hands lifted and put him in the saddle, others surrounded him from left and right and yet others walked in front and behind him. Guns were fired in the air and women uttered shrilling and trilling voices on every side. The air was laden with the garhous perfumes of incense and voices were raised singing the praise of the Prophet. All this concourse moved slowly. It seemed as if earth and all the houses on it moved with it. All this because this Asharite youth had been chosen Khalifah for the day and it must march with him through the town and the villages around it on this striking festival. What was his quality to be chosen Khalifah for the day in place of other youth? Because he was an Asharite and who had acquired knowledge, memorized al-Alfiyyah, al-Jawharah and al-Muridat".

An account of the so-called religiosity of the Shuykh, the heterogeneous views, by them on different problems and the rivalry existing between them has been sketched given to enable the reader to have an insight into the general ignorance prevailing in the Egyptian villages. Jāhā Husayn has been faithful in exposing the cunning tricks with which these Shuykh managed to exert respect from the villagers.

The Egyptian villages were stricken by a sad trilogy of illiteracy, poverty and ignorance. These and other factors constituted the main cause for their

1. Al-Ayyam: Vol. I: PP: 70-71.

2. Ibid: PP: 79-87.



243

backwardness in every sphere of life. Tāhā Husayn has pointed out the vicious philosophy and the fake sciences practiced by the villagers and especially by women. In the early period of his illness the complaining child was paid no attention and when the need for treatment became obvious no one thought of a doctor. In rare cases the services of a barber or some old midwife were secured. The result in most of the cases was death or infliction of permanent handicap. In the case of Tāhā Husayn himself this vicious philosophy and fake science was responsible for his permanent blindness, the death of his younger sister and older brother.

The educational set up as prevalent in the Egyptian villages of the time would entail no scope for overall education of a child. The primary as well as the secondary unit of education was a *Kuttāb* managed by a teacher. To facilitate the smooth functioning of the *Kuttāb*, the teacher would enter into an agreement with some adolescent boy who would be posted as class monitor ('*Arīf*'). In the *Kuttāb* where Tāhā Husayn was enrolled both the *Sāyidīnā* and the '*Arīf*' cheated each other and were negligent towards the pupils. The zenith of the teaching in a village *Kuttāb* would be to make the child to memorize the *Qurān* without knowing its explanation, the statutes, by-laws, regulations, rules, provisions, stipulations, principles and precepts derived from it. The person who-soever and of whatsoever age he may have been would be named *Shaykh* after having memorized the *Qurān*. In the case of Tāhā Husayn it happened in the ninth year of his age.

Tāhā Husayn has dropped many hints which suggest that the intellectual set up of the Egyptian villagers was mainly made of the study of the books of tales, myth, fiction, sorcery, the *Sīrah* and the Holy *Qurān*. The *Qurān* would be recited for *Thawāb* and, for the most part of it, to arouse the mercy of Allāh to benefit the reader in financial matters. The manner in which the villagers in

---

1. Al-Ayyam: Vol. I: PP: 17.

2. Ibid: PP: 45-62.

3. Ibid: pp: 37-44.

4. Ibid: PP: 97-98.

5. Ibid: PP: 105-107.

general and the so called intellectuals in particular reacted to the news of the appearance of comet in the sky is clear enough to explain the low intellectual level prevailing in the Egyptian villages.

Against this general background of illiteracy and ignorance Taha Husayn has described some of his personal experiences in a very ~~at~~ colourful style. He heard, somehow or the other, about the jinn and the devices to control them. The wrong idea that the jinn filled every gap in the room during night and deceived human beings by mixing their own voices with those of animals and ~~at~~ fowls made many nights of the child's restlessness.

Taha Husayn has given a vivid account of superstitious devices practised by village women in order to ward off the evil. Describing his mother's condition and her ~~husband's~~ behaviour at the time when her son was to deliver a sermon before a Friday congregation he says :

"And his mother was afraid lest he should be assailed by evil eye." The youth had hardly gone out for mosque that day or she got some live coal, put it in a pot and began to pour in it different kinds of incense. Then she proceeded to go round with it from room to room, staying for some seconds in each of them and murmuring incantations .... Meanwhile the Shaykh was all fire against this man whom he cursed and whose heart, <sup>had</sup> been consumed by jealousy to such an extent that he stood in between his son and the Minbar (Pulpit) and ~~Salat~~ (Prayer)?

The so-called Sufis patrolling the Egyptian cities and villages and the most objectionable practices undertaken by them were directly responsible for creating a mentality full of ~~misconceptions~~ naivety, self denial and apathy in Egypt and especially in its rural areas. They battered on the credulity and devotion of the villagers and were, as such, most corrupt and great expert in

---

1. Al-Hayyan: PP: 107-109. (Vol: I)

2. Ibid: PP: 16-9.

3. Ibid: PP: 83.

cheating. The pretended state of ecstasy they seemingly imposed on themselves and the way they talked to the people has been depicted as an example of defrauding. 'Abū Ḥusayn has ~~just~~ painted a memorable picture of these 'ūfīs, their manners and habits. The gradual process of imposition of the state of ecstasy on themselves by the Sūfīs has been depicted as follows :

"The holding of the assembly is an expression of people assembled ~~and~~ at a circle of Zikr. Sitting in silence they perform the Zikr. Their ~~heads waggle~~ and the voices rise a little. ~~Then~~ <sup>then</sup> their upper half of their bodies tremble and their voices rise a little. Then a shudder runs through their bodies and lo ! they are all standing, having kept in the air like jacks-in-the-boxes. The Shaykh move about the circle reciting the poetry of Ibn al-'Arīd and similar poems. This Shaykh was in particular fond of a well known ode in which there is mention of Isra' (The Prophet's Night Journey) and Mi'rā' (Ascent). Its opening verse is :

من مكة والبيت الاخير : للقدس سرى ليلا اُح

"From Makkah and the most Gracious House - To Jerusalem travelled by night Ahead".

"The Shaykh used to chant this properly and the performers of Zikr moved their bodies in time with their chant, bending and straightening their bodies as though Shaykh made them to dance.

"And whatever the child might forget he will never forget the night when a reciter, by mistake, interpolated a phrase in place of another phrase in the ode. Forthwith the Shaykh got furious and boiled and foamed and frothed, crying at the top of his voice: "You sons of bitches ! may God curse your fathers, and your fathers' father, and your fathers' fathers' fathers as far as Adam. Do you want to bring destruction on this man's house".

1. Al-Ayyam; Vol: I; PP: 89.

2. Ibid: PP: 88-86.

3. Ibid: P: 91-92.

Tāhā Husayn has hinted to many more examples of corruption practice<sup>1</sup> by the so called religious men in the Egyptian villages. The main aim by practising and propagating ~~such~~ innovations in religion was to rob the ~~st~~ simple minded villagers of their money. The most effective of them was the ~~-1-~~ "trade of amulets".

Tāhā Husayn has also spoken about some of his own amusements in his childhood. The child would spend many restless nights because of the fear of Jinns who, to him, would tear him if any part of his body other than the face showed<sup>-2-</sup> itself out of quilt. But when it was dawn, which to him was marked by the sweet song of the ladies carrying water pitches on their heads, he would himself turn to be a mini Ghost. He says :

Untill he heard the voices of the ladies returning from the canal after filling their water jars singing Allah Ya Layl<sup>Allah</sup> (My God ! what a beautiful night ! My God !). By this he knew that it was ~~almost~~ dawn, the Ghosts had descended in their subterranean abodes. Then he himself was transformed in to a mini ghost. He began to talk loudly to his himself, sing whatever he remembered from the verses of the poet and rattle his brothers and sisters lying around him untill he woke them all up one by one. When all this was complete there was such a shouting and singing and hustle and bustle, a veritable babble which was stopped only when the ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Shaykh, their father, woke up and called for a jug of<sup>-3-</sup> water for ablution".

Tāhā Husayn has made many confessions in his book. Of all the books which village people bought from the moving book stalls he was more interested in ~~the~~ sorcery and Tassawuf. These books informed him that by the practice of some devices the jinns could be controlled and exploited for making one's life happy and prosperous. Though he spent many ~~the~~ restless nights working on the devices, yet made no contact with any jinn. But on being asked by one of his

1. Al-Ayyam: Vol. I: PP: 109-111.

2. Ibid: PP: 8-9.

3. Ibid: P: 9-10.

friends he would falsely claim that he had succeeded in making contact with  
-1-  
a firm.

Tahā Husayn has dropped many hints on his personality traits and psychology. He was seventh of his father's thirteen children and fifth of his mother's  
-2-  
eleven. In this large family he felt that some preferential treatment and a special care was meted out to him but at the same time, he experienced occasional neglect from his father, scolding by his mother and humiliation from his  
-3-  
brothers. He set his inquisitive mind to work to find out the cause of all this which he soon came to know. How painfully does he describe it:

"However, it was no longer when the cause of all this was clear to him and he perceived that others had a supremacy over him and his brothers and sisters were able to do what he could not and perform the jobs which he did not. He also perceived that his mother allowed his brothers and sisters to do many jobs which she did not allow him to do. This aroused, at first, a feeling of resentment in him but soon this meagre resentment turned into deep silence and grief; this because he heard his brothers describing certain things of which he had no knowledge." & he knew that they say a while he did not!  
-4-

With mastery over musical words Tahā Husayn has colourfully depicted the incident when he took food, with both the hands instead of one. This produced resounding laughter on the part of his brothers, compelled his mother to a weep out of sheer grief and induced his father to render advice with a choked  
-5-  
voice full of sympathy. This changed the course of his thinking and helped him to understand in a better manner many phases of Abū-al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī's  
-6-  
life. Hereafter he decided to avoid eating the food which compelled him to use  
-7-  
spoon, to avoid taking water at the dining table and to take less quantity of  
-8-

1. Al-Ayyar: Vol: I: PP: 98-105.

2. Ibid: PP: 17.

3. Ibid: PP: 17-18.

4. Ibid: PP: 18.

5. Ibid: PP: 19-20.

6. Ibid: PP: 21.

7. Ibid: PP: 24.

8. Ibid: PP: 25.

249

food with meager morsels. These and many other habits were responsible for his  
 -3-  
 stomach trouble. He forbade himself from indulging in any many amusements of  
 -4-  
 childhood and participated in many games with the help of his mind only. His  
 liking for the listening of the stories, myth, fables and poetry was the direct  
 -5-  
 result of this encounter. The failure which Tāhā Husayn twice underwent in the  
 presence of his father met on being tested in connection with memorisation of  
 the Qurān made him to decide to do away with himself. He hit himself with a  
 -6-  
 sharp and heavy knife and sustained grave injury. He was very touchy. The sarcastic  
 -7-  
 remark of his father: "Did you memorise the Qurān" haunted him throughout his life

Tāhā Husayn was entrusted to an Asharite judge posted in the village to  
 teach the child the Alfiyyah and make him to memorise the verses. Tāhā Husayn's  
 performance for some days was satisfactory but he was soon fed up with the  
 arrangement and could memorise only a part of it. When his father would enquire  
 from him about its memorisation he would, with a blatant face, lie and recite  
 verses from the chapter other than one he had named. He says :

"When it was afternoon and his father asked him: "Did you go to law courts"  
 courts" He replied: "Yes". "How many verses did you memorise?" "Twenty", he  
 replied. "From which Chapter?" "From the Chapter on al-Idmā'ah (the Genitive)  
 or the Chapter on al-Na't (the Adjective) or from the chapter on Jam'al-Fakr  
 (broken plural)". When he said to him: "Recite before me what you have  
 memorised", he would recite twenty verses from the first two hundred, (which he  
 had memorised) at one time from the al-Hu'rrah wa-al-Hubri (the Declinable  
 and the Indeclinable), and at another from al-Habirah wa-al-Ha'rifah (the  
 Definite and the Indefinite) and at the third time from al-Ishādah wa al-  
 Khabar (the Subject and the Predicate)". And the Shaykh understood nothing and  
 did not perceive that his son was cheating him; it was enough for him to  
 hear the words in the form of verses and he had confidence in the Qadi. It  
 was strange enough that the Shaykh never thought of opening al-Alfiyyah and

1. Al-Ayyam: P: 12.

2. Ibid: P: 12.

3. Ibid: P: 12.

4. Ibid: P: 24-25.

5. Ibid: P: 56-61.

6. Ibid: P: 62.

following the child where he read. If he had done so one day it would have been the same story as that of Surah Saba<sup>1</sup>, or al-Shu'ara<sup>2</sup> or Fātir.

But the child did expose to this danger once. And had not his mother interceded for him, there would have been a memorable scene between him and his father<sup>-1-</sup>.

Had not Tāhā Husayn been blind he would have, no doubt, painted for the reader a good number of characters and objects with all their minutest possible details. It is but for this handicap that he has almost given summary description of some object or character. But in the case of his school Master (Saiyyidina<sup>3</sup>) of the mercurious tongue<sup>of</sup> his ex-classmate provided him<sup>with</sup> all funny details of his character. These he faithfully re-produced with an air of sarcasm and a touch of subtle humour. The reader can never afford to forget the character of Saiyyidina<sup>3</sup> as painted in the book. The description is so absorbing that we would have liked to give a full relevant extract but, fearing that the account would have become too lengthy are constrained to make ourselves contented with this quotation :

"Strange was the sight of 'Saiyyidina<sup>3</sup>' on his way to Kuttāb and his home in the morning and the evening. He was a bulky and corpulent man and his overcoat increased his bulk. As we have already mentioned, he stretched his arms over the shoulders of his two companions and as all the three marched along, the earth resounded under their tread. For this important task Saiyyidina<sup>3</sup> would choose the most intelligent boys with sweet voice out of his students; this because he loved singing, was eager to deliver lessons on music to his students and <sup>chose</sup> ~~was~~ has the way as the venue for delivering these lessons. Thus he would sing and, at times, his companions would join him (in singing) or merely listen to him at others; or one of his companions he would order to sing so that he and his other companion would join him (in singing). Saiyyidina<sup>3</sup> would not sing with his voice and tongue alone but with his his head and body as well. He used to nod his head up and down and waggle it from left to right and Saiyyidina<sup>3</sup> would sing with

---

1. Al-Ayyam: Vol. I: Pp: 76-77.

his hands as well beating time upon the chest of his two companion with his fingers. Sometimes "al-Dawr" fascinated Saiyyidina and realising that the walking did not suit him he would stop till he completed the song. Most funny of it all was that Saiyyidina thought that he had a very beautiful voice though Our Friend does not think that God ever created a voice uglier than his. And whenever our Friend recited the verse from the Quran: "Verily the ugliest of voices is baying of asses" invariably would he be reminded of Saiyyidina singing verse from "al-Buriah" while on his way to the mosque for Zahr Prayers or on his way back to home from the Kuttāb<sup>1</sup>.

After having memorised the Quran, Taha Husayn's teacher left him to his self till he forget it. One day Taha Husayn's father examined him but he utterly failed. This made his father furious and he rebuked Saiyyidina. He, in his turn, rebuked Taha Husayn and made him to memorise the Quran afresh. After Taha Husayn fully revised his memory of the Quran, his teacher took him to his father and invited him to re-examine 'the child'. This time Taha Husayn was brilliantly successful. And now Saiyyidina asserted that Taha Husayn had not earlier forgotten the Quran but had fumbled out of shyness. This was refuted by Taha Husayn's father and this set a dialogue on between the two. Now plainly Taha Husayn comments on this dialogue:

"Our friend listened to this dispute, knowing full well that his father was right and that Saiyyidina was lying, but he said nothing and stood waiting for the execution!"

Sometime later when Taha Husayn was again examined by his father, he failed once more. As a result Saiyyidina was again summoned and given severe shaking. He repeatedly swore that he had paid regular attention to the child while he had not. Taha Husayn was greatly astonished and he thought:

1. Al-Ayyam: Vol. I: PP: 31-32.

2. Ibid: PP: 44.



"And our Friend remained in his place thinking neither about the Qurān nor about what had happened but about the capacity of Saiyyidina ~~matharunabshah~~ to lie and about this three-folded ~~an~~ divorce which he flung as carelessly as a cigarette when he had finished ~~smoking~~ sucking it".

The death of his younger sister and elder brother, caused by ignorance, illitracay and the practice of "the vicious philosophy and the vicious science" moved Tāhā Husayn so much that he continued to shed tears for many years to come. The sadness, despair, apathy and deep sorrow in which whole family was thrown, has been described in such a touching manner that one finds it difficult to control himself ~~an~~ and feels compelled to share the sorrow. The description is so vivid and the presentation so masterly that it touches the heart of the reader. For example he says :

"At last came this most unpleasant day, the like of which the family had never known, that which stamped its life with a grief ~~x~~ that never parted with it and which caused the hair of both of his parents to turn grey and which caused his mother to put on black cloths upto the last day of her life, ~~knows~~ loose all taste for pleasure, not to laugh unless it was followed by weeping, not to sleep unless some tears rolled down her cheeks, not to get up from sleep unless few more were shed and not to eat fruit unless poor and children were ~~if~~ offered share of it. She never smiled during a feast, nor did she greet a day of pleasure except with reluctance".

Tāhā Husayn has depicted a memorable picture of himself when he was ~~thirteen~~ thirteen and was sent to al-Azhar. Addressing his daughter he says of himself :

"I knew him at the age of thirteen when he was sent to Cairo to attend lectures at al-Azhar. Surely he was a hard-working and diligent boy at that time. He was ~~thick~~ thin, weak and pale, of neglected appearance, nearer to poverty than wealth. The eye would discard him on seeing him in his dirty

---

1. Al-Ayyam: Vol: I: PP: 62,

2. Ibid: PP: 137.

3. Ibid: PP: 118-137.

4. Ibid: PP: 126.

overcoat and his skull cap which had turned from white to dark black, and in this shirt that <sup>we</sup> showed it-came from under his overcoat and which had become multi-coloured because of all the food that had dropped on it and in his worn-out sandals. The eye would discard him for all this but would also smile on him, seeing him in his ragged state and sightless eyes yet clear of brow, smiling, hurrying with his guide, unhesitating and sure of step and his face was not covered by the cloaking which usually covers the faces of the blind. The eye would discard him for all this yet smile and take some pity on him when it saw him in the lecture circle, listening with all his being to the Shaykh and eagerly gulping down his words. With all this he was smiling, with no trace of complaint or weariness on his face, not showing any ~~father's~~ inclination to play while others around him played or yawned to play".

The intellectual atmosphere prevalent at al-Ashar and the scholarship of most of its 'Ulamā' could not satisfy young Tāhā. The first lesson he attended and the first sermon on Friday congregation he heard were enough to make him disillusioned with this seat of learning. He says of the Jam'a Maṭabāh of Imām of the grand mosque of al-Ashar :

"The day was over and the next day was Friday and the child saw himself at al-Ashar for Friday Prayer. He listened to the Khatīb - a Shaykh with deep loud voice, voraciously rolling out "Tāh" and "Qāf". This was the only difference between him and the Khatīb of his town. As for the sermon it was the same that he was accustomed to hear in his town, the Ḥadīth, Ma't and Salāt were alike, the Salāt was neither longer nor shorter than that offered in his town".

Tāhā Ḥusayn has closed the first volume with a glowing tribute to his wife. Addressing his daughter he says of her :

"My daughter, this Angel showered affection on your father, she changed him from misery to felicity, from <sup>to</sup> despair to hopelessness, from poverty to riches and from wretchedness to happiness, ~~serenity~~ and serenity.

"Your father does not owe to this Angel less than you owe. My daughter, let us co-operate with each other in ~~repaying~~ repaying the debt and both of you are not in a position to repay even a part of that which you intend to do".

254

The second volume of the book largely deals with the life of the author at al-Ashar. The years 1902 and 1907, during which Ṭahā Husayn studied at al-Ashar, were very crucial for this seat of Islamic learning. Its outmoded and out dated methods of teaching and imparting learning and training had been of late causing great concern to the sensitive Muslims who had launched a move to take reformative steps. Muḥammad 'Abduh was the leader of this campaign. When Ṭahā Husayn entered al-Ashar, Muḥammad 'Abduh was still delivering lectures there and he had the opportunity to hear two lectures of the Imām delivered by him towards the end of 1905. Throughout the book we notice Ṭahā Husayn mentioning his name with great respect specifying the term "Imām" for him.

As in the first volume, so in this volume Ṭahā Husayn has given a series of portraits which though are thoroughly Egyptian, yet there is so much universality in them that the reader can relive his boyhood and youth in them and recapitulate many characters of that period. He has portrayed a good number of characters living in the "the building" and the "vicinity".

The character of al-Hāj Fīrus has been depicting<sup>ed</sup> very clearly. The hostlers and the other students never missed<sup>ed</sup> to salute him because from his shop they purchased the commodities of daily consumption, from him they borrowed when they ran out of pocket and from him they received letters and postal orders sent to ~~message~~ them by their parents in his name. This is why his name flew from the tongues of the students in the same manner as those of their favourite teachers.

'Am al-ḥaṭṭḥ Hāj 'Alī, above seventy, was a favourite character of the students residing in 'the building'. He, by dint of his wit, memory, humour, and great consideration for the studies of the students, commanded their love and they always welcomed him. Ṭahā Husayn says about him :

---

1. Al-Ayyam: Vol: II: 9-10.

"Am al-Ḥajj 'Alī was an old man who had crossed seventy but had preserved his full vigour. He had preserved the vigour of his mind and was sharp, dextrous and witty, had preserved the vigour of his body and was square-shouldered, agile, strongly built, violent if stirred, stent in his speech, he knew not what whispering rumor was, could not lower down the volume of his tone and he always invariably shouted ..... Am al-Ḥajj 'Alī's piety was impeccable. In fact, he was as ostentatiously religious as it is possible to be. He would begin with this expedition which he renewed every day before dawn, would come out of his room praising the Lord in no uncertain tones at the pitch of his voice, continued to beat his stick on the road all the way to mosque of Sayyidīnā al-Ḥusayn. There, at dawn, he read out specified portion of Qur'ān, offered Ḥajr Prayers, returned muttering, murmuring and playing to on the ground by his stick and then rested in his room. When it was the time for other prayers, he offered them in his room leaving its door wide open, recited the Qur'ān and exalted Allāh in loud tone so that all ~~young~~ the residents of the building heard him. And when he was amongst his young companions, eating a meal or ~~drinking~~ drinking tea or spending a part of the evening in their company, none was so quick witted, so amusing, so talkative, so exuberant and so indulgent in the vices of humanity and so immersed in back biting as he. His tongue knew no restraint, never hesitated in passing a deep insulting remark, reeled filthiest phrases at the top of his voice continuously. He was highly engrossed in ~~body~~ his expression of obscene material was extra-ordinarily suggestive and his depiction of the ugliest events overwhelming."

Tāhā Ḥusayn has described with a touch of humour, gloom and affection the character of "an Adult Student" who could not get the degree of 'Alamiyyah from al-Azhar, was obsessed with sex and was induced by the Sūfī thought to undergo

1. Al-Ayyam: Vol. I: 144.

2. Ibid: 146-47.

3. Ibid: 155-61.

a purification course by isolating himself from others for some time. This he apparently could not conduct in the right manner and the result was ~~the~~ loss of senses which ultimately ended his life in very pathetic circumstances.

The scholarship, piety, good will, sympathetic attitude, humility, patience, simplicity, self-respect and many other ~~its~~ virtues ~~was~~ in the character of Shaykh Saiyid al-Harafi inspired Taha Husayn. He has very vividly depicted his character specifying ten pages of his book for him. Speaking of him and his house he says :

"There in the far end of this alley lived al-Shaykh (al-Harafi)." He lived in a squalid and dilapidated house. On entering the door you find yourself in a deep, narrow ~~and~~ passage full of noisome smells. It contained nothing except an uncovered long and narrow wooden bench, propped against the wall from which crumbled down dust. .... The youth and one of his friends never forgot a visit which both of them paid the Shaykh one day after the 'Ishraq Prayers. When they went up to him they met an old man sitting on a low couch in the corridor, on his side was a wizened old woman, nearly bent double with age so much so that her head almost touched the ~~ground~~ round and the Shaykh was feeding her with his hands. When he saw his two pupils, he greeted them with smile and ordered them to wait awhile for him in his room. Then, after some time, he came to them and said laughing with a contented self: "I was serving evening meal to my mother"..... And he was too ~~embarrassed~~ embarrassed to draw his allowance himself on the first day of the month and it disgusted him to join the throngs of the scholars who regularly pounced on the cashier pressing hard for speedy delivery of their allowances. Instead he would handover his deal to one of his favourite pupils so that he might collect his petty allowance in the forenoon and deliver it to him in the afternoon?

---

1. Al-Ayyam: Vol. I: P: 61-62.

2. Ibid: P: 63.

3. Ibid: P: 164.

4. Ibid: P: 165-166.

5. Ibid: P: 166.

There are many splendid pieces of sensory description in the book. Like the first volume of the book, *Tahā Husayn* has opened the second volume with the sensory description of the way back between al-Ashar and his room in the building. He had to oscillate between them for a number of years. As such, without ~~mentioning~~ mentioning his handicap, he has made the reader to know it as he had done in the first volume. He says :

"He lived in a strange building to which led a strange path. On his return from al-Ashar, he would turn to his right to enter a gate which remained open during the day and closed in the night and a narrow gap left open in the middle of it after the 'Isha' Prayers'. When he crossed this gate, he felt a gentle heat on his right cheek, a fine smoke teasing his nostrils and on his left he felt an amusing sound reaching his ears which both puzzled and amused him ..... He continued to hear this sound for many days while returning from al-Ashar in the morning or evening, would hear it, got disgusted with it but was ashamed to ask any one about it. Then one day he gathered from a chance remark that this sound came from the building of merriment smoked by the ~~tradesmen~~ tradesmen of the tribal community ..... He walked a few steps straight away and crossed that damp-in-space in which it was impossible to stand firmly because of all the water thrown ~~there~~ there by the proprietor of the cafe. Then he came to an open passage way which was narrow and squalid and from which a number of intermingled strange, foul and elusive smells rose and there our companion was unable to distinguish from one another..... He hurried nervously onwards, breathing the ~~bad~~ foul and elusive smells, his ears catching loud shrieking sounds which came from all the ~~sides~~ sides to meet in the mid air; it seemed as though they got intermingled and created a delicate but thick ~~and~~ cloud over the head of the child -----.

It never occurred to him to count the steps of the staircase, but after

---

having used it a few times, he knew that after having ~~reached~~ ascended a <sup>250</sup> ~~250~~ <sup>250</sup> steps he must turn a bit to the left to continue to ascend the stair-case, leaving ~~me~~ to his right an opening which he never entered. But he knew that this brought <sup>him</sup> to the x first floor of the building where he stayed for a number of years?

"Tāhā Ḥusayn has dropped many hints regarding his personality traits and the incidents which had a deep effect on them. The root cause of many such traits was blindness which made him over-sensitive and some times over assertive. He had a deep sense of dejection for being left alone by his brother and denying him the light of the lamp which, he maintains, he x could feel. This compelled him to think that he was unworthy of many things. He disliked it immensely that his brothers or his companions may feel anxious for him and this made him to endure every hardship ~~hardship~~ without complaining to any one ~~it~~ about it. Sweet voice was appealing as well as appealing to him. This is why he cherished his teachers delivering lessons in singing tunes. He was always conscious of the handicap inflicted upon him by the nature but x was mostly unaccustomed to hear it by name from the others. This is why when one of his examiners at al-Azhar called him: "You next blind boy" he felt a ~~an~~ sweet win in his chest.

On completing x one academic year at al-Azhar, Tāhā Ḥusayn had expected that he would be awarded preferential treatment by the members of his family and the villagers on his return to his village. But he was sadly mistaken in his guess and it touched him to the quick. He thought out the ways to compensate for it and soon began to launch a strong offensive against the ill based customs and innovations that had ~~spread~~ crept in the religion and were so deep rooted in his village. This set a storm of criticism on against him by the villagers and their Ḥuwayḡ. But all that mattered for Tāhā Ḥusayn was that he had avenged for being neglected?

The overall silence observed by the Ḥuwayḡ and the students of al-Azhar at the dismissal of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh from the post of the Rector made Tāhā

1. Al-Ayyām: Vol: II: P: 3-5.
2. Ibid: P: 32-37.
3. Ibid: P: 37-38.
4. Ibid: PP: 84.
5. Ibid: PP: 102-103.
6. Ibid: P: 122.
7. Ibid: P: 128.

Husayn to believe that people in general were deceitful and their loyalty manifested itself merely in unyielding words and conjectures. The height of this duplicity in character was that those who remained silent during this crucial period capitalised on his name after his death.

The reformative move undertaken by Shaykh 'Ahmad 'Abduh and his associates inspired Taha Husayn considerably. We see him talking about Shaykh 'Abduh with sentiments of love and respect. The occurrence of his name and account of the incidents attached to his name are so numerous in the book that it seems as if the book is cast against this very background. This is clear indication of the Shaykh's influence felt in al-Azhar. Mere association of any one with his name would ensure for him reputation of scholarship.

Taha Husayn, being himself a hostler at al-Azhar, has spoken about many aspects of the hostler's life, the physical facilities available to them and the environment which shaped their outlook on a number of things. The financial condition of the students at al-Azhar was generally weak barring a few who could afford to spend lavishly and live a princely life. How poor the financial condition of the students in general was, can be imagined by the fact that Taha Husayn and his fellow student could afford to spend only three Milla (1 Milla = 1/1000 of a Pound) on their dinner. This consisted of one or two figs or loaf and a pot of lent beans' in juice to which some oil was added. They dipped their bread in it till they got soaked and they filled their stomach with them.

Taha Husayn has given a detailed account of the amusements which the hostlers derived from one or the other source. Modest as their living standard was naturally simplest were means and methods of their amusement. Sometimes the source of this amusement was 'Am al-Hajj Ali who, with the help of his superb taste for humour, would make their leisure hours pass. Another source of their amusement was an adult married student who had wife and children residing in his home village, but he himself stayed at al-Azhar to "catch hold of

1. Al-Ayyam Vol. I: PP: 146.

2. Ibid: PP: 164-65.

3. Ibid: PP: 113.

4. Ibid: P: 32-52.



the degree of 'Alamiyah which kept itself clear from him but he was never discouraged. The conversation coming from him was of a far different nature about which hostellers talked to one another secretly. He would give them every detail about women and their bodies till he, literally gasping, stopped to be asked. He would not shy away in giving them a full account of his personal experiences. The students would hear him with attention, absorption and fascination and, in their privacy, would repeat his words and actions to derive yet more amusement.

It was always said that the years during which 'Abd al-Husayn studied at al-'Azhar were very critical for the state of learning. The conventional system had begun to crumble in the face of the onslaught of the reformer criticism of the well known mutawakkil reformists. The authorities and the reformists were sailing in different directions. This struggle resulted in the loosening of the administration. The academic session would commence at the sweet will of the teachers and some times even after more than a week of the schedule. The condition of the hostellers was pitiable. In most of the cases, not less than twenty students, resided in a single room. This overcrowding together with cheap living would result in many physical, moral and mental ailments. The educational map set up at al-'Azhar was designed in such a way that entailed no scope for healthy discussion. The Shaykh would, in most cases, consider it below their dignity to allow any student to ask a question of them or to differ with them on some point or even to seek further clarification from them. Every such attempt would be frustrated by them in most undesirable fashion.

At al-'Azhar a student was free to select the subjects he wanted to study and also the teachers from whom he wished to receive guidance and acquire knowledge. The teacher to pupil ratio was, in most cases, miserably un-proportional.

1. Al-Ayn: Vol. 1: 157.

2. Ibid: 156.

3. Ibid: 71-72.

4. Ibid: 73.

5. Ibid: 71-74.

6. Ibid: 77, 78-80.

261  
/ teacher would sit on a chair fastened with a pillar and round him would be a  
vastly stretched arc circle of students. It was, as much, impossible for the  
teachers to even have close contacts with their pupils and, in most cases, they  
were unable to even to recognise them. This explains as to how Tāhā Ḥusayn was  
able to get from two teachers a certificate that he had regularly attended  
their class for two years prior to his getting formally registered with al-  
Azhar though he actually had not done so. This clearly shows the state of affairs  
-1-  
at al-Azhar at that time.

Before formally getting registered with al-Azhar a student had to under-  
go an admission test. Tāhā Ḥusayn had studied very hard to prepare himself for  
the test, when it was actually held, it simply defeated him as it was much  
below his expectation. This defection made him to feel that conditions at al-  
Azhar were not conducive for securing scholarship.  
-2-

/3 It may have been, many of the teachers in whose lot Tāhā Ḥusayn  
fell, were ill tempered who would even beat any one who dared to put a question  
to them. Their scholarship was low but temper high. The lessons delivered by  
them would begin and close according to a set pattern and would entail no scope  
for mutual discussion. This created a monotony in the class, resulting in the loss  
-3-  
in interest on the side of students. Tāhā Ḥusayn has spoken about many of his  
Shuyūkh and has declared them to be a embodiment of malice, envy, rancour, deceit,  
falsehood, crudeness, slander, calumination and hatred. Repeated recitation of the  
forbidding verses against these evils from the Qurān could not make them to  
obtain from these abhorrent practices. Hypocrisy in their character was made  
-4-  
many Shuyūkh to lose their respect in the eyes of the students.

But this must not be taken to mean that all the Shuyūkh at al-Azhar fell  
in this category and that Tāhā Ḥusayn has not spoken about the teachers who

commanded respect from the students for their scholarship, training, forbearance,

1. Al-Azhar, Vol: 17, 1182-1183.

2. Ibid: 1187-1188.

3. Ibid: 1188-1189.

4. Ibid: 1189-1190.

patience, simplicity and sympathetic attitude. He has spoken about a young  
 -1- -2-  
 Shaikh from whom he learnt Fiqh, about Shaykh al-'Udawi's son, about Shaykh 'Ud-  
 (3)  
 Allāh Harūn who taught him Shaykh Ibn 'Uqayl al-'Iṣṭiṣṭah, a son of a young Shaykh  
 (4)  
 who taught him Shaykh al-'Aṣṣid al-'Iṣṭiṣṭah and about Shaykh Sa'id al-'Iṣṭiṣṭah  
 -5-  
 who taught him literature, in unequivocal terms of love, respect, regard, affection  
 and deep attachment and has felt honour in acknowledging their enormous  
 gracious debt.

The changes incorporated by Hayek Abraham Abraham in the working and the syllable of al-'ishar helped to change its lot for the better in the long run. The index introduced many more subjects under the caption "studies in 'od'm" -6- "science" which included literature, geography and mathematics as well.

At the end of the book 'Ġhā ħusayn has casually mentioned his getting admission in the 'gyptian 'niversity which had recently been established. After getting formally registered with the 'niversity he would attend the lectures at al-azhar in the morning and at the 'gyptian 'niversity in the evening. The scholarship of the teachers at the 'niversity and their methods of teaching fascinated 'Ġhā ħusayn so much that he finds himself unable to draw a comparison between it and al-azhar. In fact, it was the beginning of a new life which was full of literary taste and in which one could crave and strive for genuine scholarship.

And now, my son, you will be leaving your country, your city, your home; parting from your family and friends and carrying the sea in this young age, to live alone a student's life in Paris.

So let us present you with this story so that, from time to time, you take recourse to it to seek comfort and relaxation at a time when you are worn out with study and tired of Latin and Greek. There<sup>M</sup> and there you will see in these pages an aspect of the Egyptian life with which you are not acquainted and be reminded of a person who has many a time been comforted by your presence and found in your pity as in your most efficacious unrelieved delight.

1. Add: 117-119. 2. Add: 120-121. 3. Add: 122. 4. Add: 123.  
5. Add: 124-125. 6. Add: 126-127. 7. Add: 128-129. 8. Add: 130-131.

The above study of al-Jaymī makes it clear that the book is a personal as well as a social document which covers almost all the spheres of the Egyptian thought and action as they existed then. The author has written his autobiography against the social and cultural background of the time. The story is moving, the details are accurate, the events quoted are relevant, the psychological analysis is sound, the depiction of the characters and objects is colourful, the narrative description is ~~marvellous~~ marvellous and the survey of overall educational phenomena in Egypt is ~~thought~~ thought provoking. Behind "the child" of the first volume and "the body" of the second volume we feel a sensitive reformer speaking about the woes of the society. His heart bleeds at the overall backwardness which had crippled Egypt in its nasty clutches. The charm, the simple truth and deep emotion of the book holds its reader spell bound. These and other qualities of the book are not to be surpassed by any author or of Egypt. To Professor Gibb, al-Jaymī has a good claim to be regarded as the finest work of art yet produced in Modern Egyptian literature. To allament, "Al-Jaymī's style has become a byword for charm and force".

- 
1. Studies in contemporary Arabic literature: IIT: Vol: 3: Pp: 453.
  2. The Stream of Egypt: P: X.

\*\*\*\*\*  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \*  
 \*  
 \*

## CHAPTER FIFTH

Comparison between Ṭāhā Muṣayn and his contemporary  
Biographers.

CHAPTER 3 FIFTH PART IET

"The political apathy in Egypt caused by the foreign domination in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century was directly responsible for many vices that had crept in the society. The socio-economic crisis were becoming deeper day by day. The old structure was crumbling and the new was emerging. The Egyptians were made to believe that their oriental heritage stood discredited vis-à-vis the modern culture and if they were to achieve some progress they had to discard the former in favour of the latter. They were told that this was the only surety for their onward march that would ensure them their due place in the circle of advanced Nations. They were given to understand that the only obstruction in their way of progress was their religion which was, as they would put it, against the scientific achievements. The constant and the bitter struggle between the Church and the Science in the west during the 18th and the 19th centuries was quoted as an evidence in support of their contention. The Muslim youth, as a result of this propaganda, stood perplexed.

As far as the literary condition of Egypt in this period, particularly in the twentieth century, is concerned it was, no doubt, encouraging. During this period a literary renaissance was ushered in which continued to gain momentum with the passage of time. Every branch of literature got its due share and many new horizons were explored. We have given a brief account of this development in the first part of the first chapter of this thesis. What concerns us here is to mention that the biographical literature claimed the attention of some very brilliant and acknowledged writers. The list of such well-known writers is pretty long. We have just concluded a critical analysis of the biographical literature produced by 'Abd al-Qayyum. In order to complete this study it seems desirable to conduct a brief comparative study of these biographies with the biographies

1. 'Aykhal 'Ayat al-Qayyum: 113-15.

2. We refer the rest third of the chapter to the rest of this thesis.

written by some of the most prominent contemporary writers of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. For this purpose we have selected the works of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kaykāl, 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, Aḥmad Amin and 'Abd al-Jalīm al-Ḥikrī. The former two because the topics of their biographical works correspond with those written by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and because both, like him, were enthusiastic proponents of the Western Culture in the beginning of their literary <sup>work</sup> career. The latter two because <sup>both</sup> of them have written ~~some~~ autobiographies. Kaykāl has written, on biography, Ḥayāt Muḥammad, al-'Iddīq Abī Bakr and Al-Farūq 'Imar and we have included all the <sup>comparative</sup> three for the purpose of this ~~comparative~~ study. And from 'Aqqād's biographical works we have chosen his 'Abqariyat series on Muḥammad, Abī Bakr, 'Imar, 'Uṭmān and Imām 'Alī. This list will make it clear that all the biographies concern religious luminaries. Here ~~we~~ we think it necessary to ~~clearly~~ clarify certain points before proceeding further. We think that it will provide us with necessary background against which we shall conduct this comparative study.

The art and method adopted in writing the biography of the Prophet (and for that matter of Abī Bakr, 'Imar, 'Uṭmān and 'Alī too) ought to be the same as is employed in writing the biographies of other great men of human history. There is no need to attach any extra-emotion of love, respect and sanctity or hatred, dishonour or ignominy as it will ridicule the art and will hinder in reaching to an accurate, logical and scientific conclusion. The only difference lies ~~but~~ in the fact that a good number of the facts about the Prophet's life have been recorded in the Qurān and their ~~an~~ eternity, as such, has been guaranteed by Allāh. The 'Traditionalists' have also consumed much energy in collecting and recruit-  
nising the facts about the Prophet's life. This makes the writing of a reliable biography of the Prophet possible. It is ~~in~~ from these sources that a biographer of the ~~the~~ Prophet must draw his cheque, analyse the facts and present his findings

---

266

Here suppositions<sup>s</sup> do not pay in this field because, "verily the surmise cannot  
in any way enable one to dispense<sup>with</sup> the "truth". -1-

The ~~main~~ message revealed to the Prophet was to be transmitted by him to the people and had to guide them to the right path. Naturally he had to be a preacher, a commander, a leader, a jurist, a judge, a co-ordinator of different groups and an ambassador of peace, fraternity and good will as circumstances demanded of him from time to time. He had to plan things and execute them, and evaluate their results and chalk out further programmes in their light. It is these and many other aspects of his life that his biographer must pay attention to. Nevertheless, it is a fact that we can not expect from a single biographer to cover all these aspects as it will be craving for something impossible.

While writing a biography two things must not be lost sight of, the subject matter and its ~~presentable~~ presentation. In order to make a biography a standard one the two must go side by side. The artistic presentation and the stylistic diction go a long way in distinguishing a biography from a book of history. The dry facts can be made ~~advent~~ absorbing by an author's mastery over words and his capability to knit them in a well fashioned style. It, in no way, minimises the importance of the facts mentioned. If loose sentences, unfamiliar words and below standard presentation can make a biography boring, the dull facts can make it a dis-illusioning one.

Muhammad Husayn Haykal began to write 'Ayyat Muhammad' on June 10th, 1931 and published it in 1935. 'Abba Husayn followed the suit and wrote 'Ala Hamish al-Girah Vol. I in 1933, Vol. II in 1942 and Vol. III in 1947. And then 'Abbas Muhammad al-'Iqqad wrote 'Abqariyat Muhammad in 1942.

Enumerating the reasons which induced him to write a biography of the Prophet, Haykal says that the unfortunate turn which the relations between the Muslims and the Christians took, as a result of the unwise decision of 'Hirāqul' to confront the Muslim forces at Tabuk in the days of the Prophet, continued to



play its mischief throughout the fourteen hundred years of the Islamic history. The Salibī Wars were only a link of this abhorrent chain of events. But it is strange that in the recent past this struggle has changed its venue from the field to literature. Most of the Christian writers have been launching ugly, shameful and baseless tirade against Islam and the Prophet in the name of scholarship and research. They have not brazenly been negating even the authenticity of the Qur'an and are thereby trying to plant deep & rooted doubts in the minds of the Muslim Youth. Naykal says that this unfortunate development has induced him to conduct research in the life of the Prophet and the ideology he gave to the humanity. In doing so he has wholly been guided by his conscience and has undertaken the task for the sake of Truth and Truth alone. He is fully convinced that the cure of all modern ills is nowhere possible except in the shadow of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Here lies the basic difference between the attitudes of Tāhā Ḥusayn and Naykal. Tāhā Ḥusayn intended to write only to record his sentiments which were aroused while he read the biography of the Prophet. So the book does not concern a historian or a scholar. As much it contains no message for the reader as for 'Aqūd, the basic cause was the persecution of his friends who were touched to the quick at a derogatory remark passed by one of their foreigner friends against the personality of the Prophet.

This in itself means that Naykal and 'Aqūd have consumed their energies in scrutinising the various alleged allegations levelled by the Orientalists against the Prophet, particularly in the case of 'Aqūd, wives, 'Aqūd, 'Aqūd etc. In fact both 'Aqūd and Naykal have made a reference to it. But Tāhā Ḥusayn had no such goal before him.

In a background to his work Naykal has very ably depicted the general condition of the Arabs, the culture, relationship with neighbouring empires, with

1. 'Aqūd: 'Muhammad: P' 16-2.

2. 'Aqūd: P' 11, 9-14, 17.

3. 'Aqūd: P' 10-11.

4. 'Aqūd: P' 17-18.

5. 'Aqūd: P' 122.

6. 'Aqūd: 'Muhammad: P' 11-12.

7. 'Aqūd: 'Muhammad: P' 14-5.

8. 'Aqūd: P' 18.

9. 'Aqūd: 'Muhammad: P' 110-167.

10. 'Aqūd: P' 78-81.

communities such as the Jews, Christians, Samaritans and the like, the empires

-2-

of Rome and Persia and their strained relations, the skirmishes, clashes and

-3-

the war between the Jews and the Christians, the causes that led the Arabs

-4-

to idolatry and its nature. He has also given the historical background of

-5-

Makkah, depicted its social, political, economic and religious conditions and

also the position of the Ka'bah in the eyes of the people. He has given a

bit detailed account of 'Abd al-Muttalib and his seven sons, particularly of

-6-

'Abdullah - the father of the Prophet - and his marriage with 'Aminah. This

wide range of topics is in itself suggestive of the magnitude of the task

undertaken by Haykal. The whole book of *Tahā' al-Uayn*, except some chapters,

concerns with the depiction of the historical, social, political and religious

background of the Arabian Peninsula but the incorporation of myth, the story

telling and of such things to create an evocative atmosphere has been and the

efforts are fruitful. As far as *Al-Aqbar* is concerned, he has also drawn at length

the picture of the Arab world of the time. His main emphasis has been on

providing a genealogical line of the Prophet with a brief account of his

immediate forefathers. Keeping all these things in view, he says: "The condition

of the world said: 'Verily the world is in need of a prophet'. The facts of the

history told: 'In deed Muhammad is the messenger'. There remains nothing to be

-7-

said after the world and its conditions have delivered their judgment".

As against *Tahā' al-Uayn*, Haykal has given the right version of the facts

and the causes which led Abraham to decide to destroy the Ka'bah. He is right

in saying that it was a political decision and no religious sentiment was

involved in it. He wanted to make Yaman the centre of the Arab world. To achieve

this end he built a grand mosque there. But soon he was able to discern

that so long as the Ka'bah was there his aspirations shall remain unfulfilled.

-8-

Once he decided to ~~destroy~~ destroy the Ka'bah, but *Tahā' al-Uayn* says that it was

1. *Haykal Muhammad*: 170.

2. *Ibid*: 71, 72.

3. *Ibid*: 75, 77, 79-82.

4. *Ibid*: 82-84.

5. *Ibid*: 85-105.

6. *Ibid*: 105.

7. *Al-Baqiyah Muhammad*: 119.

8. *Haykal Muhammad* (II): 101.

the fire of revenge burning in his heart that induced him to take this ~~is~~

-1-

decision because some Arab had allegedly polluted the Church. As for 'Aqqad, his work is concerned with highlighting some of the aspects of the Prophet's life, particularly those which the Orientalists continue to criticise. Therefore, it does not cover such details.

But 'Aqqad's stand about the tragedy which Abraham's army met in 'Akkah and which caused death of the maximum number of them is not well based. The obvious reason for it as the Qur'an says, was the tiny birds coming from the sea side like swarms, pelting pebbles on Abraham's army and ~~causing~~ causing their

-2-

death. Taha Hussein upholds this version. But strangely enough 'Aqqad says that it was due to some virulent disease which contacted the army and it got

-3-

perished. One would like to ask why this disease did not contact the Qurashites as they also were in the vicinity. Did the disease have eyes to differentiate between army personnel of Abraham and the Qurashites?

'Aqqad has given a full account of the Prophet's birth, his being handed over to the foster mother, his first trip to Syria and the second one as a business agent of 'Abdullah. He has dropped all the myth concerned with the trip which many biographers of the Prophet have described as his miracle. As against

-4-

it, Taha Hussein has described this myth in a pretty long detail adding salt and

-5-

curer where necessary. As Taha Hussein's version of the fact that 'Abdullah, impressed by Muhammad's honesty and trustworthiness, requested 'Abu Salih to

-6-

direct his nephew to act as her business agent is nearer to the truth than

-7-

'Aqqad's who says that it was 'Abu Salih who initiated the proposal.

'Aqqad has given a full psycho-analytical study of the Prophet's family life which was a perfectly contented one, both materially and sentimentally, but for the death of his three sons. 'Aqqad has also paid attention to this aspect and has portrayed it in bright colours. The characteristic feature of his account

1. 'Ala Hammad: Vol. I: 139-140.

2. Ibid: 144-145.

3. 'Aqqad: Muhammad: 101.

4. Ibid: 121-122.

5. 'Ala Hammad: Vol. I: 139-140.

6. Ibid: 140.

7. 'Aqqad: Muhammad: 121.

8. Ibid: 122-123.

is that, at every stage, the Prophet has been portrayed as a human being who had sentiments and who felt satisfied at successes and pained at failures.

-1-

-2-

A detailed account of the first revelation has been given by 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd al-'Aziz. He has <sup>side</sup> struck the main issue and dealt on the myth that 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd al-'Aziz dictated the contents of the first revelation to a Roman wine vendor of Makkah, and despatched the message to churches scattered in all parts of the Indian continent.

The work shows that the Prophet himself declared his Prophethood and invited people to Islam all over the world. The only one of Allah, the infidels resisted their long ~~continued~~ resistance to this message with the passage of time the Prophet's message gained strength and the resistance - nay the oppression - of the infidels gained velocity. This phenomenon continued till the conquest of Makkah. The detailed depiction of this struggle goes a long way in portraying the character of the Muslims and the magnitude of the task undertaken by them. It also helps in understanding the real worth of the success of the Islamic movement. With very able handling of the material 'Abd al-Malik has depicted the picture colourfully throughout the book. The psychological effects which the first revelation had on both the Muslims and the infidels have been fully described. In contrast to 'Abd al-Malik's account it is very concise and positive. 'Abd al-Malik has not touched the issue at all.

The Orientalists have been tirelessly using Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi as a basis to launch defaming attacks on the personality of the Prophet. 'Abd al-Malik has given a full account of the case and with the help of the Quranic verses, historical data, the Prophet's personality and other relevant circumstantial evidences proved that the whole story was a fabrication of the infidels and that it had no relevance whatsoever to returning of the Muslims to Makkah from Abyssinia. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-Malik have not described the event at all. Similarly Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi

1. 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd al-'Aziz: 113-114.

2. 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd al-'Aziz: 113-114.

3. 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd al-'Aziz: Vol. III: 113-114.

4. 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd al-'Aziz: 113-114.

5. Ibid: 113-114.

6. Ibid: 113-114.

of the Prophet ~~not~~ continues to be a topic for hot discussion of the enemies of Islam. Haykal has fully described it and proved that it was both a ~~possibility~~ <sup>-1-</sup> possibility and a reality.

The thirteen year period of his prophethood spent by the Prophet at Makkah, bearing all the difficulties, facing all the odds, calling people to the Truth, protecting, as far as possible, the Faithful against oppression and planning for the future had perhaps earned full wrath from Allāh so that a permanent and relatively peaceful abode was being prepared for them at Madīnah. Conditions at Madīnah were rapidly taking the right direction, particularly after the Bu'āth war between Aws and Khazraj. The war inflicted crippling blows on both of them and they were compelled to think in terms of burying their hatchet in view of the malicious designs of the Jews. As such the Bu'āth ~~war~~ <sup>-2-</sup> war was the main factor that brought Aws and Khazraj closer, inducing them to hear the message of the Prophet and they accepted the Faith. This development finally led to the migration of the Muslims and the Prophet to Madīnah. Haykal has given a full account of the political, social, economic and religious conditions of Madīnah before the Muslims migrated to it. The account of 'U'ayy al-'Aqabah al-'Uwāl and 'U'ayy al-'Aqabah al-'Thāmah has also been given. The account of these in more detail is given in the works of Taha Husayn and 'Aqqad. <sup>-3-</sup>

With the migration of the Prophet to Madīnah the formation of the first Islamic state was laid. The problems confronting the Muslims at Madīnah were manifolded. The relationship with the Jews was the most delicate of them all. Haykal has given a systematic account of these developments. The treacherous <sup>-4-</sup> attitude of the Jews against the Muslims has been fully described.

The war policy of the Prophet has been another favourite topic of the prejudiced Orientalists and, while discussing it, they have been always giving vent to their malice against Islam. In fact they do not want or try to read the

1. Haykal 'Muhammad': 1182-196.

2. 'Ibid': 202-207.

3. 'Ibid': 210-219.

4. 'Ibid': 219-243.

facts in their right historical and natural perspective. This is why they give a blurred account of the events. Haykal, in the light of the relevant verses of the Quran and the attitude of the Prophet, has proved that Islam has provided for defensive <sup>war</sup> and the Islamic history is an explicit evidence of this fact. -1-

After making a bit in-depth study of the war policy adopted by the Christians, he says that they have always coloured the earth with the blood of the innocent Muslims and, in doing so, they had the good wishes of the paupers, with them. The fact is that Islam is a religion of truth, freedom, justice, order and organization. These qualities correspond with the nature of the man. Hence Islam is the Religion of Nature. It is in this context that Haykal has given an account of the wars fought by the Islamic forces under the command of the Prophet. He has brushed away as prejudicial the charges of the so-called Orientalists alleging that the Muslim committed excesses during the wars and were blood thirsty. -2-

In the foreword to his book 'Al-Qur'ān al-Karīm' has said that in view of the facts that the prejudicial writers launch their attack mostly on the war policy and the issue of the wives of the Prophet, he has given a more detailed account of these issues in his book in comparison to other books. -3-

issues. And so it is. He has dealt at length on the circumstances in which the Prophet had to face the attacks of the enemies of Islam. X 'Aqad has given a comprehensive and comparative study of the war policy adopted by Napoleon and Hitler. He has also given a detailed comparison between the war policy adopted by the Prophet and the one adopted by the civilized world of the present age. This comprehensive study has led him to declare in unambiguous terms that the war policy adopted by the Prophet was the best, the most humanitarian and in perfect conformity with the human nature. -4-

The wives of the Prophet, particularly Zainab bint Jahsh, has been another topic for the Orientalists to criticize and defame the Prophet. They

1. Haykal: 'Al-Qur'ān al-Karīm': PP: 219.

2. Ibid: PP: 1253.

3. Ibid: PP: 1254.

4. Ibid: PP: 273-275.

5. Al-Qur'ān al-Karīm: 716.

6. Ibid: 150.

have fabricated such false, fanciful and filthy stories around it that the prophet is ought to be portrayed as a lust stricken person. Haykal has answered their objections, presented the factual position and declared that it is not the scholarship but the hidden malice of the Orientalists that induces them to level such charges.

It is like Haykal that has been most concerned to present the real position about the wives of the prophet and the reasons behind his keeping more at than one wife. The so-called Orientalists ask: "Is not the keeping of nine wives by the Prophet an enough evidence of his being lust stricken?" Before presenting the real position, Haykal puts a counter question and asks them: "If you have not charged the Christ as lust stricken because he did not marry, should you dare to charge the prophet as lust stricken because he had nine wives?" He says that the critics, while charging the prophet with such allegations, do not forget that although he could, yet he did not marry any one other than Khadijah upto his fifty first year of age; they forget that even later he did not marry for beauty, but as a gesture of kindness and good will to the ladies (majority of whom was widows) and they forget that when they charge as lust stricken, they are in fact charging him as a man of great character and high moral standard. Haykal also says that the critics, while charging the prophet with such allegations, do not forget that although he could, yet he did not marry any one other than Khadijah upto his fifty first year of age; they forget that even later he did not marry for beauty, but as a gesture of kindness and good will to the ladies (majority of whom was widows) and they forget that when they charge as lust stricken, they are in fact charging him as a man of great character and high moral standard.

The other aspects of the life of the prophet have claimed full attention of Haykal. Compact of life, the rules and regulations governing the political and economic policies of the prophet have been fully discussed. Haykal also has portrayed many other aspects of the prophet's life such as his eloquence and his attitude towards the enemies. He has also analysed the psychological aspects of the prophet.

This comparative study of the biographies of the prophet written by Abū Ḥayyān, Haykal and Abū Ḥayyān makes it clear that Haykal's work supercedes the other two in all aspects. The language of Abū Ḥayyān is so polished, the style

1. Hayat al-Nabi: P. 315.

2. Ibid: P. 125-126.

3. Abū Ḥayyān al-Nabi: P. 118.

4. Ibid: P. 127-128.

5. Ibid: P. 119-26.

6. Ibid: P. 164-71.

7. Ibid: P. 172-201.

so absorbing and the presentation so masterly that it holds the reader in a state of constant interest but the substance is so good that the reader often fails to understand whether he is reading a biography of the Prophet or a history. The case with *Al-Bihar* is different. The poet in *Al-Bihar* has made his full appearance in the book. The style is also shorter and more different aspects of the Prophet's life covered have been fully dealt with, but for the most part of it the book appears to be more an eulogy of the Prophet than his biography. As far as *Al-Bihar* is concerned, it is presented in a simplified manner. The language used is that of a scholar who knows what sort of language fits a subject like this. Further the variety of the topics and richness of their contents satisfy the reader. *Al-Bihar* has revived the myth and made it a live art, *Al-Bihar* has conducted a psychological analysis and cleared the position on many an issue but *Al-Bihar* has given a full account of the life of the Prophet and the issues related to it. He has arranged the subject matter in a systematic order.

As already said, the death of the Prophet pushed many sincere Muslims to a passion and a great number of Muslims were led into the lap of the *Umayyad* movement. It is the complication which the Muslims had to face with regard to the election of the *Caliph*. The prominent *Umayyad* wanted to overcome all these difficulties and emerged triumphant in the end with the help of their deep and unshaken belief in the life hereafter. Had only this been the development in the history of Islam, it would have been an easy job for a historian or a biographer to write about the Prophet. But we know that in 23 AH, after the death of the Prophet, *Uthman* was elected to the post of *Caliph* but very soon did not see any desirable developments take place so much so that the *Caliph* was, against all the dictates of Islam, assassinated. And then the real & unfortunate part in the history of Islam was written with the help of the emergence of the bitter tribal prejudices which gave a bad name to the early Islamic history as well. The accounts of the events were so much mutilated and misrepresented that the research regarding this period has been



rendered a most difficult job. The later division of the Muslim Ummah into sects<sup>275</sup> began to be traced from the very day the Prophet breathed his last. As has already been said, the modern biography writers have paid due attention to this period. Taha Husayn, 'Aqqad and Haykal wrote the biographical account of Abū Bakr ~~رضي الله عنه~~ - the first elected Qalīfah after the death of the Prophet.

Haykal wrote Al-Qiddiq Abū Bakr in 1942. In the foreword to it he says that after having written about the life of the Prophet he thought it appreciable to write ~~about~~ on the first Qalīfah of Islam not only because he was a close friend and counsellor of the Prophet but also because he established and run successfully the Khilāfah strictly in accordance with the guidelines provided by the Qurān and the Sunnah. This fact has prompted Haykal to assert that in these days of political, social, economic and moral anarchy Islam is the only religion which can lead the humanity to the goal of prosperity, welfare and real freedom which it is in search of.<sup>-1-</sup> He says that this assertion must not be a cause of alarm for any one as the past, present and future are a single entity; the last two are dependant on the first one. He gain experience from the past, plan for the future<sup>-2-</sup> while living in the present. He further says that standard rules of research do not acknowledge barriers of love and hatred but are satisfied by logic only.<sup>-3-</sup> So it is his earnest desire to conduct research in such a way that these rules are upheld, his inner self is satisfied, and truth and only the truth is conveyed to his readers. If this goal is achieved his conscience would really be satisfied.<sup>-4-</sup> He is fully aware of the fact that although the period of Khilāfah of Abū Bakr did not go beyond some twenty seven months, yet its implications are so widely felt that no single writer can do justice to the subject fully, he is sure that his work shall be continued and completed by other authors more competent than him.<sup>-5-</sup>

'Aqqad wrote Abqariyah al-Qiddiq in 1951. In the foreword to his book he explicitly makes it clear that it is not a book on the biography of Abū Bakr

---

1. Al-Qiddiq Abū Bakr: PP: 10.

2. Ibid: PP: 10.

3. Ibid: P: 21.

4. Ibid: PP: 22.

5. Ibid: PP: 22-27.

in the strict sense of the term, but is an attempt to portray his personality, behaviour and achievements. A passing glance on the topics of the book will make it clear that 'Aqqad was unable to maintain a systematic order of the events and each topic is a separate and an independent entity by itself. His <sup>to</sup> plan to write this book is that people in the modern age have developed a tendency to discard every thing of the past heritage. They view suspiciously the moves undertaken by religious reformers to end the evils prevalent in the society. However, it has become very difficult to differentiate a selfish and a sincere leader. It is why he intends to depict the personality of Abū Bakr for the reader to serve as a model.

As for Ṭāḥā Husayn he wrote Al-Shaykhān in 1960 after he had already written on the Prophet, 'Uthmān, 'Alī and his sons. He was suffering from a guilty conscience for having failed to write on Al-Shaykhān upto that date. In his foreword to the book he categorically says that he intends to give only a brief character sketch of Abū Bakr and 'Uthar. It will be useful to keep in mind that he has wrapped up the details about Abū Bakr's life and administration in one hundred and six pages only.

This study of the prefaces of the books will make it clear that Haykal's work is inclusive. This made it necessary for him to adhere to the strict rules of descriptive writing and to maintain a systematic order. As against him, the other two authors were at their liberty to choose what they wanted to depict. In fact 'Aqqad has said that a tiny incident, a passing reference and a seemingly unimportant point may claim his attention more than a great and a magnificent one. Any how, a close comparative study between the three will at least reveal how they view the events, what they infer from them and how they want their impact to be felt in the modern society.

Haykal has given a concise account of Abū Bakr's life upto the time he was elected Khalīfah. This is partly due to the fact that sufficient details

---

1. 'Abqariyah al-Siddiq: PP: 3-4.

2. Al-Shaykhān: PP: 10.

3. Ubid: PP: 14-20.

4. 'Abqariyah al-Siddiq: PP: 13.

about his pre-khalīfah period are not available and partly because he wanted to ~~more~~ elaborately discuss his role as a khalīfah and highlight the policies he adopted during this period. In the concise biographical account of his earlier life as well attention has ~~was~~ mainly been focussed on his ~~his~~ close association with the Prophet and the manner in which he learnt the lessons of Islam from him. ~~He~~ <sup>(1)</sup> it must be taken note of that Haykal has wrongly mentioned the time of Prophet's arrival at Abū Bakr's house to inform him that he had been commanded by Allah to migrate to 'Madinah'. <sup>(2)</sup> He has mentioned that it was evening whereas <sup>(3)</sup> the actual time was mid-noon. ~~His~~ <sup>(4)</sup> ~~more~~ point that should not escape scrutiny is Haykal's pleading for Abū Bakr about his attitude regarding the Prisoners of the War of Badr. He says that perhaps he was convinced that the authority of mercy was to get established in the end and to forgive them was no doubt a <sup>(5)</sup> manifestation of supreme human behaviour. Haykal is badly mistaken here. This was an unbecoming council on the part of Abū Bakr as is evident from the fact that the Qurān admonished both Abū Bakr and the Prophet in this decision. The question is whether the standards of humanity were those which the Qurān envisaged or the ones which Haykal wants to convey attributing them to Abū Bakr.

'Aqqad has divided the life of Abū Bakr under many headings such as <sup>(6)</sup> <sup>(7)</sup> <sup>(8)</sup> <sup>(9)</sup> <sup>(10)</sup> <sup>(11)</sup> <sup>(12)</sup> <sup>(13)</sup> <sup>(14)</sup> <sup>(15)</sup> <sup>(16)</sup> <sup>(17)</sup> <sup>(18)</sup> <sup>(19)</sup> <sup>(20)</sup> <sup>(21)</sup> <sup>(22)</sup> <sup>(23)</sup> <sup>(24)</sup> <sup>(25)</sup> <sup>(26)</sup> <sup>(27)</sup> <sup>(28)</sup> <sup>(29)</sup> <sup>(30)</sup> <sup>(31)</sup> <sup>(32)</sup> <sup>(33)</sup> <sup>(34)</sup> <sup>(35)</sup> <sup>(36)</sup> <sup>(37)</sup> <sup>(38)</sup> <sup>(39)</sup> <sup>(40)</sup> <sup>(41)</sup> <sup>(42)</sup> <sup>(43)</sup> <sup>(44)</sup> <sup>(45)</sup> <sup>(46)</sup> <sup>(47)</sup> <sup>(48)</sup> <sup>(49)</sup> <sup>(50)</sup> <sup>(51)</sup> <sup>(52)</sup> <sup>(53)</sup> <sup>(54)</sup> <sup>(55)</sup> <sup>(56)</sup> <sup>(57)</sup> <sup>(58)</sup> <sup>(59)</sup> <sup>(60)</sup> <sup>(61)</sup> <sup>(62)</sup> <sup>(63)</sup> <sup>(64)</sup> <sup>(65)</sup> <sup>(66)</sup> <sup>(67)</sup> <sup>(68)</sup> <sup>(69)</sup> <sup>(70)</sup> <sup>(71)</sup> <sup>(72)</sup> <sup>(73)</sup> <sup>(74)</sup> <sup>(75)</sup> <sup>(76)</sup> <sup>(77)</sup> <sup>(78)</sup> <sup>(79)</sup> <sup>(80)</sup> <sup>(81)</sup> <sup>(82)</sup> <sup>(83)</sup> <sup>(84)</sup> <sup>(85)</sup> <sup>(86)</sup> <sup>(87)</sup> <sup>(88)</sup> <sup>(89)</sup> <sup>(90)</sup> <sup>(91)</sup> <sup>(92)</sup> <sup>(93)</sup> <sup>(94)</sup> <sup>(95)</sup> <sup>(96)</sup> <sup>(97)</sup> <sup>(98)</sup> <sup>(99)</sup> <sup>(100)</sup> <sup>(101)</sup> <sup>(102)</sup> <sup>(103)</sup> <sup>(104)</sup> <sup>(105)</sup> <sup>(106)</sup> <sup>(107)</sup> <sup>(108)</sup> <sup>(109)</sup> <sup>(110)</sup> <sup>(111)</sup> <sup>(112)</sup> <sup>(113)</sup> <sup>(114)</sup> <sup>(115)</sup> <sup>(116)</sup> <sup>(117)</sup> <sup>(118)</sup> <sup>(119)</sup> <sup>(120)</sup> <sup>(121)</sup> <sup>(122)</sup> <sup>(123)</sup> <sup>(124)</sup> <sup>(125)</sup> <sup>(126)</sup> <sup>(127)</sup> <sup>(128)</sup> <sup>(129)</sup> <sup>(130)</sup> <sup>(131)</sup> <sup>(132)</sup> <sup>(133)</sup> <sup>(134)</sup> <sup>(135)</sup> <sup>(136)</sup> <sup>(137)</sup> <sup>(138)</sup> <sup>(139)</sup> <sup>(140)</sup> <sup>(141)</sup> <sup>(142)</sup> <sup>(143)</sup> <sup>(144)</sup> <sup>(145)</sup> <sup>(146)</sup> <sup>(147)</sup> <sup>(148)</sup> <sup>(149)</sup> <sup>(150)</sup> <sup>(151)</sup> <sup>(152)</sup> <sup>(153)</sup> <sup>(154)</sup> <sup>(155)</sup> <sup>(156)</sup> <sup>(157)</sup> <sup>(158)</sup> <sup>(159)</sup> <sup>(160)</sup> <sup>(161)</sup> <sup>(162)</sup> <sup>(163)</sup> <sup>(164)</sup> <sup>(165)</sup> <sup>(166)</sup> <sup>(167)</sup> <sup>(168)</sup> <sup>(169)</sup> <sup>(170)</sup> <sup>(171)</sup> <sup>(172)</sup> <sup>(173)</sup> <sup>(174)</sup> <sup>(175)</sup> <sup>(176)</sup> <sup>(177)</sup> <sup>(178)</sup> <sup>(179)</sup> <sup>(180)</sup> <sup>(181)</sup> <sup>(182)</sup> <sup>(183)</sup> <sup>(184)</sup> <sup>(185)</sup> <sup>(186)</sup> <sup>(187)</sup> <sup>(188)</sup> <sup>(189)</sup> <sup>(190)</sup> <sup>(191)</sup> <sup>(192)</sup> <sup>(193)</sup> <sup>(194)</sup> <sup>(195)</sup> <sup>(196)</sup> <sup>(197)</sup> <sup>(198)</sup> <sup>(199)</sup> <sup>(200)</sup> <sup>(201)</sup> <sup>(202)</sup> <sup>(203)</sup> <sup>(204)</sup> <sup>(205)</sup> <sup>(206)</sup> <sup>(207)</sup> <sup>(208)</sup> <sup>(209)</sup> <sup>(210)</sup> <sup>(211)</sup> <sup>(212)</sup> <sup>(213)</sup> <sup>(214)</sup> <sup>(215)</sup> <sup>(216)</sup> <sup>(217)</sup> <sup>(218)</sup> <sup>(219)</sup> <sup>(220)</sup> <sup>(221)</sup> <sup>(222)</sup> <sup>(223)</sup> <sup>(224)</sup> <sup>(225)</sup> <sup>(226)</sup> <sup>(227)</sup> <sup>(228)</sup> <sup>(229)</sup> <sup>(230)</sup> <sup>(231)</sup> <sup>(232)</sup> <sup>(233)</sup> <sup>(234)</sup> <sup>(235)</sup> <sup>(236)</sup> <sup>(237)</sup> <sup>(238)</sup> <sup>(239)</sup> <sup>(240)</sup> <sup>(241)</sup> <sup>(242)</sup> <sup>(243)</sup> <sup>(244)</sup> <sup>(245)</sup> <sup>(246)</sup> <sup>(247)</sup> <sup>(248)</sup> <sup>(249)</sup> <sup>(250)</sup> <sup>(251)</sup> <sup>(252)</sup> <sup>(253)</sup> <sup>(254)</sup> <sup>(255)</sup> <sup>(256)</sup> <sup>(257)</sup> <sup>(258)</sup> <sup>(259)</sup> <sup>(260)</sup> <sup>(261)</sup> <sup>(262)</sup> <sup>(263)</sup> <sup>(264)</sup> <sup>(265)</sup> <sup>(266)</sup> <sup>(267)</sup> <sup>(268)</sup> <sup>(269)</sup> <sup>(270)</sup> <sup>(271)</sup> <sup>(272)</sup> <sup>(273)</sup> <sup>(274)</sup> <sup>(275)</sup> <sup>(276)</sup> <sup>(277)</sup> <sup>(278)</sup> <sup>(279)</sup> <sup>(280)</sup> <sup>(281)</sup> <sup>(282)</sup> <sup>(283)</sup> <sup>(284)</sup> <sup>(285)</sup> <sup>(286)</sup> <sup>(287)</sup> <sup>(288)</sup> <sup>(289)</sup> <sup>(290)</sup> <sup>(291)</sup> <sup>(292)</sup> <sup>(293)</sup> <sup>(294)</sup> <sup>(295)</sup> <sup>(296)</sup> <sup>(297)</sup> <sup>(298)</sup> <sup>(299)</sup> <sup>(300)</sup> <sup>(301)</sup> <sup>(302)</sup> <sup>(303)</sup> <sup>(304)</sup> <sup>(305)</sup> <sup>(306)</sup> <sup>(307)</sup> <sup>(308)</sup> <sup>(309)</sup> <sup>(310)</sup> <sup>(311)</sup> <sup>(312)</sup> <sup>(313)</sup> <sup>(314)</sup> <sup>(315)</sup> <sup>(316)</sup> <sup>(317)</sup> <sup>(318)</sup> <sup>(319)</sup> <sup>(320)</sup> <sup>(321)</sup> <sup>(322)</sup> <sup>(323)</sup> <sup>(324)</sup> <sup>(325)</sup> <sup>(326)</sup> <sup>(327)</sup> <sup>(328)</sup> <sup>(329)</sup> <sup>(330)</sup> <sup>(331)</sup> <sup>(332)</sup> <sup>(333)</sup> <sup>(334)</sup> <sup>(335)</sup> <sup>(336)</sup> <sup>(337)</sup> <sup>(338)</sup> <sup>(339)</sup> <sup>(340)</sup> <sup>(341)</sup> <sup>(342)</sup> <sup>(343)</sup> <sup>(344)</sup> <sup>(345)</sup> <sup>(346)</sup> <sup>(347)</sup> <sup>(348)</sup> <sup>(349)</sup> <sup>(350)</sup> <sup>(351)</sup> <sup>(352)</sup> <sup>(353)</sup> <sup>(354)</sup> <sup>(355)</sup> <sup>(356)</sup> <sup>(357)</sup> <sup>(358)</sup> <sup>(359)</sup> <sup>(360)</sup> <sup>(361)</sup> <sup>(362)</sup> <sup>(363)</sup> <sup>(364)</sup> <sup>(365)</sup> <sup>(366)</sup> <sup>(367)</sup> <sup>(368)</sup> <sup>(369)</sup> <sup>(370)</sup> <sup>(371)</sup> <sup>(372)</sup> <sup>(373)</sup> <sup>(374)</sup> <sup>(375)</sup> <sup>(376)</sup> <sup>(377)</sup> <sup>(378)</sup> <sup>(379)</sup> <sup>(380)</sup> <sup>(381)</sup> <sup>(382)</sup> <sup>(383)</sup> <sup>(384)</sup> <sup>(385)</sup> <sup>(386)</sup> <sup>(387)</sup> <sup>(388)</sup> <sup>(389)</sup> <sup>(390)</sup> <sup>(391)</sup> <sup>(392)</sup> <sup>(393)</sup> <sup>(394)</sup> <sup>(395)</sup> <sup>(396)</sup> <sup>(397)</sup> <sup>(398)</sup> <sup>(399)</sup> <sup>(400)</sup> <sup>(401)</sup> <sup>(402)</sup> <sup>(403)</sup> <sup>(404)</sup> <sup>(405)</sup> <sup>(406)</sup> <sup>(407)</sup> <sup>(408)</sup> <sup>(409)</sup> <sup>(410)</sup> <sup>(411)</sup> <sup>(412)</sup> <sup>(413)</sup> <sup>(414)</sup> <sup>(415)</sup> <sup>(416)</sup> <sup>(417)</sup> <sup>(418)</sup> <sup>(419)</sup> <sup>(420)</sup> <sup>(421)</sup> <sup>(422)</sup> <sup>(423)</sup> <sup>(424)</sup> <sup>(425)</sup> <sup>(426)</sup> <sup>(427)</sup> <sup>(428)</sup> <sup>(429)</sup> <sup>(430)</sup> <sup>(431)</sup> <sup>(432)</sup> <sup>(433)</sup> <sup>(434)</sup> <sup>(435)</sup> <sup>(436)</sup> <sup>(437)</sup> <sup>(438)</sup> <sup>(439)</sup> <sup>(440)</sup> <sup>(441)</sup> <sup>(442)</sup> <sup>(443)</sup> <sup>(444)</sup> <sup>(445)</sup> <sup>(446)</sup> <sup>(447)</sup> <sup>(448)</sup> <sup>(449)</sup> <sup>(450)</sup> <sup>(451)</sup> <sup>(452)</sup> <sup>(453)</sup> <sup>(454)</sup> <sup>(455)</sup> <sup>(456)</sup> <sup>(457)</sup> <sup>(458)</sup> <sup>(459)</sup> <sup>(460)</sup> <sup>(461)</sup> <sup>(462)</sup> <sup>(463)</sup> <sup>(464)</sup> <sup>(465)</sup> <sup>(466)</sup> <sup>(467)</sup> <sup>(468)</sup> <sup>(469)</sup> <sup>(470)</sup> <sup>(471)</sup> <sup>(472)</sup> <sup>(473)</sup> <sup>(474)</sup> <sup>(475)</sup> <sup>(476)</sup> <sup>(477)</sup> <sup>(478)</sup> <sup>(479)</sup> <sup>(480)</sup> <sup>(481)</sup> <sup>(482)</sup> <sup>(483)</sup> <sup>(484)</sup> <sup>(485)</sup> <sup>(486)</sup> <sup>(487)</sup> <sup>(488)</sup> <sup>(489)</sup> <sup>(490)</sup> <sup>(491)</sup> <sup>(492)</sup> <sup>(493)</sup> <sup>(494)</sup> <sup>(495)</sup> <sup>(496)</sup> <sup>(497)</sup> <sup>(498)</sup> <sup>(499)</sup> <sup>(500)</sup> <sup>(501)</sup> <sup>(502)</sup> <sup>(503)</sup> <sup>(504)</sup> <sup>(505)</sup> <sup>(506)</sup> <sup>(507)</sup> <sup>(508)</sup> <sup>(509)</sup> <sup>(510)</sup> <sup>(511)</sup> <sup>(512)</sup> <sup>(513)</sup> <sup>(514)</sup> <sup>(515)</sup> <sup>(516)</sup> <sup>(517)</sup> <sup>(518)</sup> <sup>(519)</sup> <sup>(520)</sup> <sup>(521)</sup> <sup>(522)</sup> <sup>(523)</sup> <sup>(524)</sup> <sup>(525)</sup> <sup>(526)</sup> <sup>(527)</sup> <sup>(528)</sup> <sup>(529)</sup> <sup>(530)</sup> <sup>(531)</sup> <sup>(532)</sup> <sup>(533)</sup> <sup>(534)</sup> <sup>(535)</sup> <sup>(536)</sup> <sup>(537)</sup> <sup>(538)</sup> <sup>(539)</sup> <sup>(540)</sup> <sup>(541)</sup> <sup>(542)</sup> <sup>(543)</sup> <sup>(544)</sup> <sup>(545)</sup> <sup>(546)</sup> <sup>(547)</sup> <sup>(548)</sup> <sup>(549)</sup> <sup>(550)</sup> <sup>(551)</sup> <sup>(552)</sup> <sup>(553)</sup> <sup>(554)</sup> <sup>(555)</sup> <sup>(556)</sup> <sup>(557)</sup> <sup>(558)</sup> <sup>(559)</sup> <sup>(560)</sup> <sup>(561)</sup> <sup>(562)</sup> <sup>(563)</sup> <sup>(564)</sup> <sup>(565)</sup> <sup>(566)</sup> <sup>(567)</sup> <sup>(568)</sup> <sup>(569)</sup> <sup>(570)</sup> <sup>(571)</sup> <sup>(572)</sup> <sup>(573)</sup> <sup>(574)</sup> <sup>(575)</sup> <sup>(576)</sup> <sup>(577)</sup> <sup>(578)</sup> <sup>(579)</sup> <sup>(580)</sup> <sup>(581)</sup> <sup>(582)</sup> <sup>(583)</sup> <sup>(584)</sup> <sup>(585)</sup> <sup>(586)</sup> <sup>(587)</sup> <sup>(588)</sup> <sup>(589)</sup> <sup>(590)</sup> <sup>(591)</sup> <sup>(592)</sup> <sup>(593)</sup> <sup>(594)</sup> <sup>(595)</sup> <sup>(596)</sup> <sup>(597)</sup> <sup>(598)</sup> <sup>(599)</sup> <sup>(600)</sup> <sup>(601)</sup> <sup>(602)</sup> <sup>(603)</sup> <sup>(604)</sup> <sup>(605)</sup> <sup>(606)</sup> <sup>(607)</sup> <sup>(608)</sup> <sup>(609)</sup> <sup>(610)</sup> <sup>(611)</sup> <sup>(612)</sup> <sup>(613)</sup> <sup>(614)</sup> <sup>(615)</sup> <sup>(616)</sup> <sup>(617)</sup> <sup>(618)</sup> <sup>(619)</sup> <sup>(620)</sup> <sup>(621)</sup> <sup>(622)</sup> <sup>(623)</sup> <sup>(624)</sup> <sup>(625)</sup> <sup>(626)</sup> <sup>(627)</sup> <sup>(628)</sup> <sup>(629)</sup> <sup>(630)</sup> <sup>(631)</sup> <sup>(632)</sup> <sup>(633)</sup> <sup>(634)</sup> <sup>(635)</sup> <sup>(636)</sup> <sup>(637)</sup> <sup>(638)</sup> <sup>(639)</sup> <sup>(640)</sup> <sup>(641)</sup> <sup>(642)</sup> <sup>(643)</sup> <sup>(644)</sup> <sup>(645)</sup> <sup>(646)</sup> <sup>(647)</sup> <sup>(648)</sup> <sup>(649)</sup> <sup>(650)</sup> <sup>(651)</sup> <sup>(652)</sup> <sup>(653)</sup> <sup>(654)</sup> <sup>(655)</sup> <sup>(656)</sup> <sup>(657)</sup> <sup>(658)</sup> <sup>(659)</sup> <sup>(660)</sup> <sup>(661)</sup> <sup>(662)</sup> <sup>(663)</sup> <sup>(664)</sup> <sup>(665)</sup> <sup>(666)</sup> <sup>(667)</sup> <sup>(668)</sup> <sup>(669)</sup> <sup>(670)</sup> <sup>(671)</sup> <sup>(672)</sup> <sup>(673)</sup> <sup>(674)</sup> <sup>(675)</sup> <sup>(676)</sup> <sup>(677)</sup> <sup>(678)</sup> <sup>(679)</sup> <sup>(680)</sup> <sup>(681)</sup> <sup>(682)</sup> <sup>(683)</sup> <sup>(684)</sup> <sup>(685)</sup> <sup>(686)</sup> <sup>(687)</sup> <sup>(688)</sup> <sup>(689)</sup> <sup>(690)</sup> <sup>(691)</sup> <sup>(692)</sup> <sup>(693)</sup> <sup>(694)</sup> <sup>(695)</sup> <sup>(696)</sup> <sup>(697)</sup> <sup>(698)</sup> <sup>(699)</sup> <sup>(700)</sup> <sup>(701)</sup> <sup>(702)</sup> <sup>(703)</sup> <sup>(704)</sup> <sup>(705)</sup> <sup>(706)</sup> <sup>(707)</sup> <sup>(708)</sup> <sup>(709)</sup> <sup>(710)</sup> <sup>(711)</sup> <sup>(712)</sup> <sup>(713)</sup> <sup>(714)</sup> <sup>(715)</sup> <sup>(716)</sup> <sup>(717)</sup> <sup>(718)</sup> <sup>(719)</sup> <sup>(720)</sup> <sup>(721)</sup> <sup>(722)</sup> <sup>(723)</sup> <sup>(724)</sup> <sup>(725)</sup> <sup>(726)</sup> <sup>(727)</sup> <sup>(728)</sup> <sup>(729)</sup> <sup>(730)</sup> <sup>(731)</sup> <sup>(732)</sup> <sup>(733)</sup> <sup>(734)</sup> <sup>(735)</sup> <sup>(736)</sup> <sup>(737)</sup> <sup>(738)</sup> <sup>(739)</sup> <sup>(740)</sup> <sup>(741)</sup> <sup>(742)</sup> <sup>(743)</sup> <sup>(744)</sup> <sup>(745)</sup> <sup>(746)</sup> <sup>(747)</sup> <sup>(748)</sup> <sup>(749)</sup> <sup>(750)</sup> <sup>(751)</sup> <sup>(752)</sup> <sup>(753)</sup> <sup>(754)</sup> <sup>(755)</sup> <sup>(756)</sup> <sup>(757)</sup> <sup>(758)</sup> <sup>(759)</sup> <sup>(760)</sup> <sup>(761)</sup> <sup>(762)</sup> <sup>(763)</sup> <sup>(764)</sup> <sup>(765)</sup> <sup>(766)</sup> <sup>(767)</sup> <sup>(768)</sup> <sup>(769)</sup> <sup>(770)</sup> <sup>(771)</sup> <sup>(772)</sup> <sup>(773)</sup> <sup>(774)</sup> <sup>(775)</sup> <sup>(776)</sup> <sup>(777)</sup> <sup>(778)</sup> <sup>(779)</sup> <sup>(780)</sup> <sup>(781)</sup> <sup>(782)</sup> <sup>(783)</sup> <sup>(784)</sup> <sup>(785)</sup> <sup>(786)</sup> <sup>(787)</sup> <sup>(788)</sup> <sup>(789)</sup> <sup>(790)</sup> <sup>(791)</sup> <sup>(792)</sup> <sup>(793)</sup> <sup>(794)</sup> <sup>(795)</sup> <sup>(796)</sup> <sup>(797)</sup> <sup>(798)</sup> <sup>(799)</sup> <sup>(800)</sup> <sup>(801)</sup> <sup>(802)</sup> <sup>(803)</sup> <sup>(804)</sup> <sup>(805)</sup> <sup>(806)</sup> <sup>(807)</sup> <sup>(808)</sup> <sup>(809)</sup> <sup>(810)</sup> <sup>(811)</sup> <sup>(812)</sup> <sup>(813)</sup> <sup>(814)</sup> <sup>(815)</sup> <sup>(816)</sup> <sup>(817)</sup> <sup>(818)</sup> <sup>(819)</sup> <sup>(820)</sup> <sup>(821)</sup> <sup>(822)</sup> <sup>(823)</sup> <sup>(824)</sup> <sup>(825)</sup> <sup>(826)</sup> <sup>(827)</sup> <sup>(828)</sup> <sup>(829)</sup> <sup>(830)</sup> <sup>(831)</sup> <sup>(832)</sup> <sup>(833)</sup> <sup>(834)</sup> <sup>(835)</sup> <sup>(836)</sup> <sup>(837)</sup> <sup>(838)</sup> <sup>(839)</sup> <sup>(840)</sup> <sup>(841)</sup> <sup>(842)</sup> <sup>(843)</sup> <sup>(844)</sup> <sup>(845)</sup> <sup>(846)</sup> <sup>(847)</sup> <sup>(848)</sup> <sup>(849)</sup> <sup>(850)</sup> <sup>(851)</sup> <sup>(852)</sup> <sup>(853)</sup> <sup>(854)</sup> <sup>(855)</sup> <sup>(856)</sup> <sup>(857)</sup> <sup>(858)</sup> <sup>(859)</sup> <sup>(860)</sup> <sup>(861)</sup> <sup>(862)</sup> <sup>(863)</sup> <sup>(864)</sup> <sup>(865)</sup> <sup>(866)</sup> <sup>(867)</sup> <sup>(868)</sup> <sup>(869)</sup> <sup>(870)</sup> <sup>(871)</sup> <sup>(872)</sup> <sup>(873)</sup> <sup>(874)</sup> <sup>(875)</sup> <sup>(876)</sup> <sup>(877)</sup> <sup>(878)</sup> <sup>(879)</sup> <sup>(880)</sup> <sup>(881)</sup> <sup>(882)</sup> <sup>(883)</sup> <sup>(884)</sup> <sup>(885)</sup> <sup>(886)</sup> <sup>(887)</sup> <sup>(888)</sup> <sup>(889)</sup> <sup>(890)</sup> <sup>(891)</sup> <sup>(892)</sup> <sup>(893)</sup> <sup>(894)</sup> <sup>(895)</sup> <sup>(896)</sup> <sup>(897)</sup> <sup>(898)</sup> <sup>(899)</sup> <sup>(900)</sup> <sup>(901)</sup> <sup>(902)</sup> <sup>(903)</sup> <sup>(904)</sup> <sup>(905)</sup> <sup>(906)</sup> <sup>(907)</sup> <sup>(908)</sup> <sup>(909)</sup> <sup>(910)</sup> <sup>(911)</sup> <sup>(912)</sup> <sup>(913)</sup> <sup>(914)</sup> <sup>(915)</sup> <sup>(916)</sup> <sup>(917)</sup> <sup>(918)</sup> <sup>(919)</sup> <sup>(920)</sup> <sup>(921)</sup> <sup>(922)</sup> <sup>(923)</sup> <sup>(924)</sup> <sup>(925)</sup> <sup>(926)</sup> <sup>(927)</sup> <sup>(928)</sup> <sup>(929)</sup> <sup>(930)</sup> <sup>(931)</sup> <sup>(932)</sup> <sup>(933)</sup> <sup>(934)</sup> <sup>(935)</sup> <sup>(936)</sup> <sup>(937)</sup> <sup>(938)</sup> <sup>(939)</sup> <sup>(940)</sup> <sup>(941)</sup> <sup>(942)</sup> <sup>(943)</sup> <sup>(944)</sup> <sup>(945)</sup> <sup>(946)</sup> <sup>(947)</sup> <sup>(948)</sup> <sup>(949)</sup> <sup>(950)</sup> <sup>(951)</sup> <sup>(952)</sup> <sup>(953)</sup> <sup>(954)</sup> <sup>(955)</sup> <sup>(956)</sup> <sup>(957)</sup> <sup>(958)</sup> <sup>(959)</sup> <sup>(960)</sup> <sup>(961)</sup> <sup>(962)</sup> <sup>(963)</sup> <sup>(964)</sup> <sup>(965)</sup> <sup>(966)</sup> <sup>(967)</sup> <sup>(968)</sup> <sup>(969)</sup> <sup>(970)</sup> <sup>(971)</sup> <sup>(972)</sup> <sup>(973)</sup> <sup>(974)</sup> <sup>(975)</sup> <sup>(976)</sup> <sup>(977)</sup> <sup>(978)</sup> <sup>(979)</sup> <sup>(980)</sup> <sup>(981)</sup> <sup>(982)</sup> <sup>(983)</sup> <sup>(984)</sup> <sup>(985)</sup> <sup>(986)</sup> <sup>(987)</sup> <sup>(988)</sup> <sup>(989)</sup> <sup>(990)</sup> <sup>(991)</sup> <sup>(992)</sup> <sup>(993)</sup> <sup>(994)</sup> <sup>(995)</sup> <sup>(996)</sup> <sup>(997)</sup> <sup>(998)</sup> <sup>(999)</sup> <sup>(1000)</sup> <sup>(1001)</sup> <sup>(1002)</sup> <sup>(1003)</sup> <sup>(1004)</sup> <sup>(1005)</sup> <sup>(1006)</sup> <sup>(1007)</sup> <sup>(1008)</sup> <sup>(1009)</sup> <sup>(1010)</sup> <sup>(1011)</sup> <sup>(1012)</sup> <sup>(1013)</sup> <sup>(1014)</sup> <sup>(1015)</sup> <sup>(1016)</sup> <sup>(1017)</sup> <sup>(1018)</sup> <sup>(1019)</sup> <sup>(1020)</sup> <sup>(1021)</sup> <sup>(1022)</sup> <sup>(1023)</sup> <sup>(1024)</sup> <sup>(1025)</sup> <sup>(1026)</sup> <sup>(1027)</sup> <sup>(1028)</sup> <sup>(1029)</sup> <sup>(1030)</sup> <sup>(1031)</sup> <sup>(1032)</sup> <sup>(1033)</sup> <sup>(1034)</sup> <sup>(1035)</sup> <sup>(1036)</sup> <sup>(1037)</sup> <sup>(1038)</sup> <sup>(1039)</sup> <sup>(1040)</sup> <sup>(1041)</sup> <sup>(1042)</sup> <sup>(1043)</sup> <sup>(1044)</sup> <sup>(1045)</sup> <sup>(1046)</sup> <sup>(1047)</sup> <sup>(1048)</sup> <sup>(1049)</sup> <sup>(1050)</sup> <sup>(1051)</sup> <sup>(1052)</sup> <sup>(1053)</sup> <sup>(1054)</sup> <sup>(1055)</sup> <sup>(1056)</sup> <sup>(1057)</sup> <sup>(1058)</sup> <sup>(1059)</sup> <sup>(1060)</sup> <sup>(1061)</sup> <sup>(1062)</sup> <sup>(1063)</sup> <sup>(1064)</sup> <sup>(1065)</sup> <sup>(1066)</sup> <sup>(1067)</sup> <sup>(1068)</sup> <sup>(1069)</sup> <sup>(1070)</sup> <sup>(1071)</sup> <sup>(1072)</sup> <sup>(1073)</sup> <sup>(1074)</sup> <sup>(1075)</sup> <sup>(1076)</sup> <sup>(1077)</sup> <sup>(1078)</sup> <sup>(1079)</sup> <sup>(1080)</sup> <sup>(1081)</sup> <sup>(1082)</sup> <sup>(1083)</sup> <sup>(1084)</sup> <sup>(1085)</sup> <sup>(1086)</sup> <sup>(1087)</sup> <sup>(1088)</sup> <sup>(1089)</sup> <sup>(1090)</sup> <sup>(1091)</sup> <sup>(1092)</sup> <sup>(1093)</sup> <sup>(1094)</sup> <sup>(1095)</sup> <sup>(1096)</sup> <sup>(1097)</sup> <sup>(1098)</sup> <sup>(1099)</sup> <sup>(1100)</sup> <sup>(1101)</sup> <sup>(1102)</sup> <sup>(1103)</sup> <sup>(1104)</sup> <sup>(1105)</sup> <sup>(1106)</sup> <sup>(1107)</sup> <sup>(1108)</sup> <sup>(1109)</sup> <sup>(1110)</sup> <sup>(1111)</sup> <sup>(1112)</sup> <sup>(1113)</sup> <sup>(1114)</sup> <sup>(1115)</sup> <sup>(1116)</sup> <sup>(1117)</sup> <sup>(1118)</sup> <sup>(1119)</sup> <sup>(1120)</sup> <sup>(1121)</sup> <sup>(1122)</sup> <sup>(1123)</sup> <sup>(1124)</sup> <sup>(1125)</sup> <sup>(1126)</sup> <sup>(1127)</sup> <sup>(1128)</sup> <sup>(1129)</sup> <sup>(1130)</sup> <sup>(1131)</sup> <sup>(1132)</sup> <sup>(1133)</sup> <sup>(1134)</sup> <sup>(1135)</sup> <sup>(1136)</sup> <sup>(1137)</sup> <sup>(1138)</sup> <sup>(1139)</sup> <sup>(1140)</sup> <sup>(1141)</sup> <sup>(1142)</sup> <sup>(1143)</sup> <sup>(1144)</sup> <sup>(1145)</sup> <sup>(1146)</sup> <sup>(1147)</sup> <sup>(1148)</sup> <sup>(1149)</sup> <sup>(1150)</sup> <sup>(1151)</sup> <sup>(1152)</sup> <sup>(1153)</sup> <sup>(1154)</sup> <sup>(1155)</sup> <sup>(1156)</sup> <sup>(1157)</sup> <sup>(1158)</sup> <sup>(1159)</sup> <sup>(1160)</sup> <sup>(1161)</sup> <sup>(1162)</sup> <sup>(1163)</sup> <sup>(1164)</sup> <sup>(1165)</sup> <sup>(1166)</sup> <sup>(1167)</sup> <sup>(1168)</sup> <sup>(1169)</sup> <sup>(1170)</sup> <sup>(1171)</sup> <sup>(1172)</sup> <sup>(1173)</sup> <sup>(1174)</sup> <sup>(1175)</sup> <sup>(1176)</sup> <sup>(1177)</sup> <sup>(1178)</sup> <sup>(1179)</sup> <sup>(1180)</sup> <sup>(1181)</sup> <sup>(1182)</sup> <sup>(1183)</sup> <sup>(1184)</sup> <sup>(1185)</sup> <sup>(1186)</sup> <sup>(1187)</sup> <sup>(1188)</sup> <sup>(1189)</sup> <sup>(1190)</sup> <sup>(1191)</sup> <sup>(1192)</sup> <sup>(1193)</sup> <sup>(1194)</sup> <sup>(1195)</sup> <sup>(1196)</sup> <sup>(1197)</sup> <sup>(1198)</sup> <sup>(1199)</sup> <sup>(1200)</sup> <sup>(1201)</sup> <sup>(1202)</sup> <sup>(1203)</sup> <sup>(1204)</sup> <sup>(1205)</sup> <sup>(1206)</sup> <sup>(1207)</sup> <sup>(1208)</sup> <sup>(1209)</sup> <sup>(1210)</sup> <sup>(1211)</sup> <sup>(1212)</sup> <sup>(1213)</sup> <sup>(1214)</sup> <sup>(1215)</sup> <sup>(1216)</sup> <sup>(1217)</sup> <sup>(1218)</sup> <sup>(1219)</sup> <sup>(1220)</sup> <sup>(1221)</sup> <sup>(1222)</sup> <sup>(1223)</sup> <sup>(1224)</sup> <sup>(1225)</sup> <sup>(1226)</sup> <sup>(1227)</sup> <sup>(1228)</sup> <sup>(1229)</sup> <sup>(1230)</sup> <sup>(1231)</sup> <sup>(1232)</sup> <sup>(1233)</sup> <sup>(1234)</sup> <sup>(1235)</sup> <sup>(1236)</sup> <sup>(1237)</sup> <sup>(1238)</sup> <sup>(1239)</sup> <sup>(1240)</sup> <sup>(1241)</sup> <sup>(1242)</sup> <sup>(1243)</sup> <sup>(1244)</sup> <sup>(1245)</sup> <sup>(1246)</sup> <sup>(1247)</sup> <sup>(1248)</sup> <sup>(1249)</sup> <sup>(1250)</sup> <sup>(1251)</sup> <sup>(1252)</sup> <sup>(1253)</sup> <sup>(1254)</sup> <sup>(1255)</sup> <sup>(1256)</sup> <sup>(1257)</sup> <sup>(1258)</sup> <sup>(1259)</sup> <sup>(1260)</sup> <sup>(1261)</sup> <sup>(1262)</sup> <sup>(1263)</sup> <sup>(1264)</sup> <sup>(1265)</sup> <sup>(1266)</sup> <sup>(1267)</sup> <sup>(1268)</sup> <sup>(1269)</sup> <sup>(1270)</sup> <sup>(1271)</sup> <sup>(1272)</sup> <sup>(1273)</sup> <sup>(1274)</sup> <sup>(1275)</sup> <sup>(1276)</sup> <sup>(1277)</sup> <sup>(1278)</sup> <sup>(1279)</sup> <sup>(1280)</sup> <sup>(1281)</sup> <sup>(1282)</sup> <sup>(1283)</sup> <sup>(1284)</sup> <sup>(1285)</sup> <sup>(1286)</sup> <sup>(1287)</sup> <sup>(1288)</sup> <sup>(1289)</sup> <sup>(1290)</sup> <sup>(1291)</sup> <sup>(1292)</sup> <sup>(1293)</sup> <sup>(1294)</sup> <sup>(1295)</sup> <sup>(1296)</sup> <sup>(1297)</sup> <sup>(1298)</sup> <sup>(1299)</sup> <sup>(1300)</sup> <sup>(1301)</sup> <sup>(1302)</sup> <sup>(1303)</sup> <sup>(1304)</sup> <sup>(1305)</sup>

serve as a trend setter and the developments it caused to take place were to have a far reaching effect on the following events in the Islamic history,  
-1-

All the three authors have discussed the issue at length. It is interesting and note-worthy that all the three have arrived at the same conclusion. Naykal says

that had there been any ~~clear~~ clear injunction in the Qurān or a word of the Prophet, no such controversy would have arisen. He says that it is wrong to say  
-2-

that 'Alī gave his oath of loyalty to Abū Bakr after some hesitation. In fact all  
-3-

such narrations are later fabrication. Tāhā Husayn says that it is improper to say that the Prophet willed for Abū Bakr or 'Alī or any other person because had he willed none would disobey him and had he even thought of doing so none could make him to desist from doing so. In fact such narrations owe their origin  
-4-

to the unfortunate 'Fitnah' in the days of 'Umayyads and afterwards. Those who say 'Alī hesitated in giving his oath of loyalty to Abū Bakr cast aspersions on his personality and faith which they ~~must~~ should not considering his close relation-  
-5-

ship with the Prophet. Quoting narrations which say that 'Alī and 'Abbas hesitated to give their oath of loyalty to Abū Bakr and gave it after six months only when Khawṣ Fātimah was dead, 'Aqqād says that he is constrained to reject it as all factual and circumstantial evidences go against it.  
-6-

One more related issue, 'Bida' Gardens', has been fully dealt with by all the three writers. This was a very delicate issue. Fātimah and 'Abbas approached Abū Bakr to allow them to benefit from the income of these gardens as they belonged to the Prophet. But Abū Bakr plainly quoted a Hadīth saying that 'Prophets do not owe anything and their property is a Sadaqah to all the Muslims. It strained his nerves, he wept but adhered to the right path.  
-7-

Human history has seen many kings who advocated the theory of 'Divine Right of Kings' and who made their subjects to believe that they were chosen by God to rule over them. As such they were responsible to none for their actions.

---

1. Al-Shaykhānī PP: 52-53.

2. 'Abqariyah al-Siddiqī PP: 19-20.

3. Al-Siddiq Abū Bakr PP: 55-57.

2. Ibid PP: 79.

3. Ibid PP: 76-77.

4. Al-Shaykhānī PP: 27-41.

5. 'Abqariyah al-Siddiqī PP: 79.

6. Al-Siddiq Abū Bakr PP: 76.

Needless to say that such concept was a <sup>tain</sup> ~~mere~~ foundation of illa for the society. <sup>Abū Bakr</sup> conceived the dangers hidden in this philosophy at the earliest stage when he refused to be named 'Khilāfah Allāh'. Tāhā Husayn and Haykal have fully discussed this event and have claimed that it was yet another important service Abū Bakr rendered to the cause of Islam.

Islam does not create ~~such~~ tight compartment in which the faithful is required to divide his person. There is no conception like Dīn (Religion) and Dunyā (world) as separate entities. Both are integral parts of the religion and where one wants to draw a line of demarcation between the two he destroys the basic concept of Islam therefrom. At the onset of his Khilāfah, Abū Bakr was faced this challenging task. All those Bedouins who had obeyed the Prophet not because they believed in his Prophethood, but because they recognised his supremacy in the Arab Peninsula now began to dictate terms to Abū Bakr. They refused to recognise his authority unless they were absolved from paying Zakāt. Abū Bakr refused to accept their offer unhesitatingly and waged a relentless campaign against them till he subdued them. All the three scholars have dwelt on this issue at length but the point of difference between them is whether Umar agreed with Abū Bakr to take action against them so long as they said 'Lā Ilāh Illā Allāh'. As for Haykal and Azzām, both hold that Umar adopted a different approach from Abū Bakr on this issue. But Tāhā Husayn has rightly declared this conclusion as baseless and unfounded. Zakāt is as basic a fundamental of Islam as Sa'āt. The denial to pay Zakāt implies the denial to accept Islam as a faith. This position was more clear to Umar than those who ascribe an opposite stand to him. He has, by the help of Umar's life account, character and events of Khilāfah, proved that Umar was not against Abū Bakr's decision to fight these people.

In the very life time of the Prophet the 'Nasabū' (False Prophethood) move had started and after his death it engulfed the whole of the Northern part of

1. Al-Biddiq Abū Bakr: PP: 353.

2. Ibid: PP: 111-112.

3. 'Abqariyah al-Biddiq: PP: 151-152.

4. Al-Shaykh: PP: 92-93.

the Arab Peninsula, deluded thousands of people and those who stuck to their faith were mercilessly massacred. Abū Bakr had to face the challenge and due to his unique courage and proper planning and with the unequivocal help of the Sahābah he emerged successful from this ordeal. Haykal has very ably discussed all those factors which were the cause of this development. He has fully described the expeditions launched by the Muslims to subdue this move. As for the motives behind the move, Haykal says that they were political coupled with the re-emergence of the tribal prejudices. It was strengthened by the death of the Prophet. The open revolt and subsequent successes of Aḥmad al-'Ansī of Yaman acted as a booster for it and the involvement of the foreign hand (of the Persian and the Roman Empires) which proved yet more a strengthening factor, can not be altogether ruled out. Although Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn does not give such a deep analysis yet he is sure that political and prejudicial approaches were its main causes. As for 'Aqqād, he says that it was impossible to eradicate all the traces of heathen prejudices from the hearts of the Bedouins in such a short span of time and when they took to this sort of politics it was nothing more than the revival of these heathen prejudices.

In the face of all these difficulties Abū Bakr had one more and actually the most precarious problem to deal with. The Prophet had himself appointed 'Uṣayyah Bin Zayd as commander of the army which he wanted to despatch to Syria where the Christians had become a great cause of trouble for the Muslims. Having issued the orders to proceed the advancement was halted because of his illness and the death that followed it. Despite the pressing circumstances Abū Bakr decided to despatch the Uṣayyah Expedition and severely turned down every suggestion to postpone it or to appoint any other aged person as its commander in place of 'Uṣayyah. For the first suggestion his reply was that what the Prophet had ordered he could not make delay its execution and for the second his answer was that he could not dismiss the one whom the Prophet had appointed.

'Aqqād and Haykal are critical of those historians who try to minimise the importance of this expedition. In fact, it was a true reflection of Abū Bakr's

1. Al-Siddiq Abū Bakr: PP: 94. 2. Ibid: PP: 99. 3. Ibid: PP: 97. 4. Ibid: PP: 98.

5. Al-Shaykh: PP: 14. 6. 'Abqariyah: al-Siddiq: PP: 142-144. 7. Ibid: PP: 136-140.

8. Haykal: Muḥammad: PP: 108.

deep rooted faith in Allāh. Tāhā Husayn has described this expedition a bit vividly and has concluded it by saying that the deep rooted faith, the sightedness and close co-operation of the Muslims were the chief cause of its success.

The Qurān was revealed in a span of twenty three years, thirteen of them in Makkah and ten in Madīnah. It was mostly written on rough and crude material and this material was scattered. Muslims recited it in their Prayers and it was a matter of honour for one who could memorise as much of it as possible. After the death of the Prophet the Muslims were confronted with Piddah wars which claimed the lives of many well-known reciters and Huffās of the Qurān. In Gassah Maw'tah such a big number of them was martyred that 'Umar was alarmed. He suggested to Abū Bakr to order the collection of the Qurān in one volume which the latter agreed to do after some hesitation. He ordered Zayd bin Thābit to carry out the task which he did. So was the Qurān compiled in one volume in the Khilāfah of Abū Bakr. The chapterisation of the Qurān was done in the Prophet's time itself. The most important evidence to this effect is Ibn Mas'ūd's narration that he recited over seventy chapters (Surās) in the presence of the Prophet. This version regarding the collection and the compilation of the Qurān is given by Naykal and this is exactly what Tāhā Husayn upholds. The only difference between the two is that Naykal has elaborately discussed various view-points and he pointed to the correct one with the help of historical evidences and available records. Tāhā Husayn's description, on the other hand, is very brief. How one longs he had given a detailed description! Yet more unfortunate is the case with 'Aqqad in this regard. This is an important issue has not claimed his attention at all. He does even drop a hint on this magnificent achievement of Abū Bakr.

"And in this illness did Abū Bakr discharge such a magnificent service

1. Al-Shaykhani: P: 165-71.

2. Al-Siddiq Abū Bakr: P: 127-128.

3. Ibid: P: 133.

4. Ibid: P: 133.

5. Al-Shaykhani: P: 112-113.

to the cause of Islam and the Muslims that has been discharged by none other (1) than the Prophet and this was the nomination of 'Umar for Khilāfah. This is how Taha 'Ubayn has paid homage to this hero of the Islamic history. He has fully described this contribution of Abū Bakr and has concluded that this was his sincere advice to the Muslims and not an order. And it is a fact that the Muslims <sup>-2-</sup> endorsed his advice. Haykal has expressed exactly same view point. But his account of this development is very concise, which in view of the detailed account of such other great events, given by him makes the reader to feel almost dissatisfied. Like the compilation of the Quran this important issue has also missed the pen of 'Aqqād.

Both 'Aqqād and Haykal have appended an important discussion on the nature and working of Abū Bakr's Khilāfah. After having compared, in a bit of detail, the nature and working of Khilāfah with monarchy, aristocracy, <sup>-4-</sup> theocracy, democracy, communism and the like forms of governments and ideologies, Haykal says that the Khilāfah was a consultative form of government whose <sup>-5-</sup> basis was provided by the Quran and the Sunnah. In running the government Abū Bakr was guided by his faith and that alone was the surety of success for it. He, as ~~an example~~ such, wants to plead that the other governments if formed and run <sup>-6-</sup> with the same spirit will no doubt, yield the like results. 'Aqqād has conducted a deep study of democracy, oligarchy, autocracy and theocracy and has concluded <sup>-7-</sup> that none of them is in conformity with the human nature. He boldly declares that freedom of an ~~individual~~ individual and guarantee of his welfare is the only concern of Islam. The gap between the ruler and the ruled is bound to prove destructive. This gap can be bridged only by the adoption of the attitude akin to that of Abū Bakr. Nevertheless, the changed conditions demand some diversions <sup>-8-</sup> but all of them can be adjusted within the limits of the Quran and the

1. Al-Sihayḥani: PP: 117.

2. Ibid: PP: 119.

3. Al-Siddiq Abū Bakr: PP: 371.

4. Ibid: PP: 360.

5. Ibid: PP: 363.

6. Ibid: PP: 367.

7. Ibid: PP: 372-373.

8. 'Abqariyah al-Siddiq: PP: 174.



Sunnah. As for Tahā Husayn, he has neither made a suggestion in this regard nor has he conducted such a comparative study. He has simply depicted the personality of Abū Bakr and has left for the reader to draw his own conclusion. Anyhow we find such discussion in his book on 'Uthmān.

As is the characteristic of other such works of 'Aqqād, this work also contains a fruitful discussion on the psychological analysis of Abū Bakr's personality. He says: "Key to one's personality is that small tool which opens for us its doors and enables us to peep behind its walls and forts. For general comparison it is like a key of a house that remains a locked fort unless you carry this small tool in the smallest of your pockets. When you apply it then it does remain neither closed nor a fort." And when 'Aqqād has applied this key to Abū Bakr's personality, he has opened many doors for the reader through which he can closely examine his personality. Another interesting discussion has been undertaken under the Chapter 'Nawāḥijātān' (two samples) wherein he has conducted a comparative study of the personalities of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. This discussion would have been productive but for the wrong inference drawn by 'Aqqād. He says that unreserved faithfulness of Abū Bakr for the Prophet was the result of his belief in "Muḥammad the Prophet", while the reserved faithfulness of 'Umar was the result of his belief in "The Prophet 'Muḥammad". It is nothing but playing with the words. Had Muḥammad not been the Prophet, no Abū Bakr, no 'Umar and for that matter no one else would have bothered to hear him not to speak of enduring the hardships the equivalent of which has yet to be witnessed by history. The primary inducing factor, as such, was the Prophethood and not the personality of Muḥammad. Haykal also has attempted psychological analysis of Abū Bakr's personality, but justice demands to admit that 'Aqqād's attempt in this respect remains unparalleled. As for Tahā Husayn, this aspect has not claimed his attention.

If we venture to give a final verdict about the worth

1. 'Abqariyah al-Siddiq: PP: 173-180.

2. Ibid: P: 64.

3. Ibid: PP: 67-80.

4. Ibid: PP: 83-96.

5. Ibid: PP: 86.

6. Ḥikmah al-Siddiq Abū Bakr: PP: 34-35, 42, 56, 58, 77-79.

of these books, we would not hesitate to say that Haykal's attempt is more  
 a scholastic, more ~~scholarly~~ elaborate and more beneficial to the reader. His  
 presentation of the facts is systematic and masterly. Despite the concise nature  
 of Taha Husayn's work, it surpasses 'Aqqad's 'Abqariyah al-Siddiq in many respects.

The prophet once said: "Had any prophet to come after me, verily he would  
 have been 'Ism but there will be no prophet after me". 'Ism established,  
 strengthened, expanded and ~~much~~ ran the Islamic state strictly in accordance  
 with the rules and regulations set by the Qur'an and the Sunnah. No one could even  
 think of a preferential treatment at his hands other than the one who really  
 deserved it. What can be ~~be~~ said about a man who negated this treatment to him-  
 self, his family and his son. His impartial dealing in administration, his ~~justice~~  
 sense of justice and self sacrifice are denied by none. He was hard for a law  
 breaker and soft for the law abiding. In fact he is the Qalifah on whom much  
 has been written in the past, is being written at present and will continue to  
 be written in the future because humanity feels indebted to him for ~~the~~ the right  
 path he has shown to the world. History neither forgets good deeds of any one  
 nor ~~it~~ forgives wrong. His actions have been hailed. But some writers, as a result  
 of excess attachment to himself, have attributed such miracles to his name and  
 personality as are only slightly less in degree than those of the Prophet. This  
 type of scholarship is, no doubt, unfair and it ~~it~~ negates the real spirit behind  
 his achievements. A sun is not in need of candles to make its light brighter.  
 These candles which have been ~~arranged~~ and lit round this sun ('Ism) need to be  
 put off as they are latter addition and do not appeal to the reason. For this  
 the pen of a distinguished scholar ~~had~~ had for long been awaited to write on  
 the topic in scientific style accepting all that was true and rejecting all  
 that was ~~in~~ wrong. It is this necessity that induced Haykal to write 'Ism's  
 -1-  
 biography in two volumes. The book "Al-Faruq 'Ism" was published in 1944.

In the preface to his book Haykal has given a ~~not~~ brief survey of the  
 present day life of the Muslims and the causes which continue to negate the  
 achievements of their past. He has really felt the pulse of the society when

he says that the only cause of this unfortunate state of affairs is that  
 getting divided among themselves. They cannot regain their glory except when  
 -1-  
 they get united. It is interesting to note that nearly the same view point has  
 been expressed by 'Aqqād in the foreword to his book 'Abqariyah 'Umar' published  
 in 1942. He says that no doubt 'Umar was great, no doubt his achievements were  
 bewildering and no doubt his contribution to the human history has been of  
 -2-  
 immense magnitude, but it must not lead a writer to exaggerate his personality  
 -3-  
 and achievements in such a way that it turns to be his condemnation. In the  
 present day politics the ~~oppressive~~ oppressive powers are gaining strength day  
 by day and Truth and valour are on the decrease. If we only understand the life  
 of 'Umar in its right perspective, we can easily demolish the basis of this  
 -4-  
~~oppressive~~ oppressive structure. To highlight the life of 'Umar in its pure form  
 is the primary concern of 'Aqqād and, as such, he has focussed his attention on  
 -5-  
 certain aspects of his life. As for 'Abū Hurayn's al-Shaykhān, we have spoken  
 about its preface in the context of the biographies on Abū Bakr.

Although most of the great people are born great, yet people recognise  
 this greatness only after it becomes clear to them and it is a fact that  
 this greatness is exhibited only after the person achieves maturity. This is  
 the main cause for the lack of adequate information about the early life  
 of most of the great men. The records of their minutest actions of the late age  
 might have been available to us, but we cannot but have access to even those  
 events of their ~~early~~ early life that shape it. This exactly is the case with  
 the early life of 'Umar. We have very little information about his early life.  
 This fact has forced Haykal to open his life history in the form of a novel.  
 The reader is taken to the Bazaar of Dhu-al-Hajjah and Ukayr where the Arabs  
 have assembled, the trade is in progress and there are many items to fascinate  
 the youth, one of them being wrestling. 'Umar is being shown wrestling with a

---

1. Al-Farūq 'Umar: Vol. I: PP: 15-16.

2. 'Abqariyah 'Umar: PP: 16-7.

3. Ibid: PP: 15.

4. Ibid: PP: 18.

5. Ibid: PP: 17-8.

Bedouin whom he topples down. And in this ~~historical~~ context many aspects of his personality have been depicted. He is portrayed as an excessive drinker, <sup>-2-</sup> eve-<sup>-3-</sup> teaser, <sup>-4-</sup> staunch opponent of monotheists, <sup>-5-</sup> abounding in qualities of horsemanship, <sup>-6-</sup> having a neat taste for poetry, <sup>-7-</sup> and with a strong build ~~body~~. <sup>-8-</sup> A passing reference to his ancestral background and the qualities he inherited from his fore-fathers has also been made. Taha 'Usayn has given a very concise ~~short~~ account of his early life wherein psychological analysis of his personality has been his sole concern. And 'Aqqad has not touched this aspect at all.

'Umar was literate, had a developed taste of literature and could successfully work as an ambassador of his Tribe whenever the need arose. He had the qualities of horsemanship, knight-hood and valour. When he saw that the followers of the Prophet were being persecuted and yet they stuck to their faith, his heart ached and his conscience rebuked him. He felt the need to closely examine the Faith for himself. This attitude caused a gradual change in his thinking towards Islam till he found himself very close to the Faith. And when the whole thing became clear to him he un-hesitatingly accepted the Faith. It is of course quite worthy that his love for Islam was as strong as he had held the heathen ~~past~~ prejudices dear to him earlier. This is the version that 'Aykal puts forward <sup>-9-</sup> regarding 'Umar's entry into the fold of Islam. He rejects the commonly accepted narration that one day 'Umar went to kill the Prophet but while in his way came to know that his brother-in-law and sister had already accepted the Faith. He set for their house first and there he embraced the Faith ~~he~~ after having severely ~~been~~ beaten his brother-in-law and sister. 'Aykal pleads that no doubt 'Umar was brave but he could not think to go to kill the Prophet when the Prophet was surrounded by ~~at~~ forty persons among whom were brave men like Hamzah and Abu 'Thayyib <sup>-10-</sup> bin Jarrāh. Something akin to it is the approach adopted

1. Al-Faruq 'Umar Vol: I: PP: 25.

2. Ibid: PP: 26.

3. Ibid: PP: 27.

4. Ibid: PP: 26.

5. Ibid: PP: 28.

6. Ibid: PP: 33.

7. Ibid: PP: 25.

8. Ibid: PP: 29-33.

9. Ibid: PP: 41-52.

10. Ibid: PP: 45.

by Tāhā Husayn. He categorically rejects the above narration though infers  
 -1-  
 that it aptly describes "war's hard and harsh attitude." ʿAqād's study is of a  
 different nature. He says that "war being brave, would feel pained at the sight  
 of torches being inflicted by the powerful polytheists on the weak and defence-  
 less monotheists. Earlier the death of his brother had moved him so much that  
 -2-  
 he had expressed his desire to compose a elegy on his death had he been a poet.  
 His straight forwardness would make him contented with nothing less than the  
 -3-  
 Truth and justice. He had inherited religious ~~the~~ thinking and ~~which~~ combined in  
 -4-  
 himself the qualities of ~~modern~~ statesmanship, intellect and far-sightedness.  
 Further, his taste for poetry may have been stirred when he heard the most  
 -5-  
 eloquent diction of the Qurān. These factors were responsible for making shorter  
 the distance between Islam and him, opening doors one by one till the  
 -6-  
 final door was opened and he unhesitatingly ~~had~~ <sup>he</sup> ~~left~~ <sup>accepted</sup> it. ʿAqād has quoted all  
 the narrations regarding the immediate cause of his accepting the Faith but  
 -7-  
 has desisted from giving his own comment.

Haykal has given a detailed account of "war's role during the life time  
 of the Prophet and then in the capacity of a councillor of ʿAbū Bakr. But he is  
 stark mistaken when he says that "war had a deep rooted difference with ʿAbū  
 -8-  
ʿAbū Bakr vis-à-vis his stand to fight those who refused to pay Zakāt. Asin to it  
 -9-  
 is ʿAqād the opinion expressed by ʿAqād. The real position has been made clear  
 by Tāhā Husayn. He says that he was fully aware that Zakāt could not be ʿAbū  
 -10-  
 segregated from Salāt and ʿImān. Haykal has erred by his imagination when he lists  
 "war's possible apprehension about ʿAlī ʿAbū Bakr that he might become a  
 real threat to his ʿUllāh as a probable cause for his dismissal ʿAbū from the  
 -11-  
 military command. The truth is what ʿAqād has said, that is in dismissing ʿAlī

1. Al-Shaykh ʿAqād: P: 127.

2. ʿAbqariyah ʿAqād: P: 123.

3. ʿAbqariyah ʿAqād: P: 124.

4. ʿAbqariyah ʿAqād: P: 124.

5. ʿAbqariyah ʿAqād: P: 125.

6. ʿAbqariyah ʿAqād: P: 124.

7. ʿAbqariyah ʿAqād: P: 125.

8. ʿAbqariyah ʿAqād: P: 116-119.

9. ʿAl-Shaykh ʿAqād: P: 70. (Vol: I.)

10. ʿAl-Shaykh ʿAqād: P: 66-67.

11. ʿAbqariyah ʿAqād: P: 125-125.

12. ʿAl-Shaykh ʿAqād: Vol: I: P: 102.

13. ʿAbqariyah ʿAqād: P: 124.

'Umar has shown that justice is more powerful than heroism. If a hero slips, justice is at liberty to stretch its powerful hand to dislodge him from his high status, <sup>in</sup> a way as if he was the weakest of the weak. And this scale of justice <sup>as</sup> benefits 'Umar's action against 'Thālid and Talas has set scales for every action. On the occasion of the conquest of Makkah, 'Thālid had shed his blood despite the strict prohibitory orders of the Prophet against it and 'Umar had complained to the Prophet. The Prophet sent 'Thālid to 'Umar b. al-Khattāb to propagate Islām. He had an encounter with the K. tribesmen and killed many of its members even after they had laid down their arms. Again 'Umar complained to the Prophet. He married the widow of 'Malik bin 'Awfayyah after killing him. When it is a known fact that the Arabs hated such a thing very much. There and many more causes were responsible for inducing 'Umar to frame a bad opinion about him. This does not mean that he did not acknowledge and appreciate his most valuable services to the cause of Islām. Whenever an opportunity arose he praised him eloquently. Though 'Tāhā 'Ubayn hesitates to pass judgement on 'Umar's attitude to 'Thālid, yet he has listed the matters on which the Shaykhān differed regarding him and on which 'Umar was critical of his behaviour. 'Tāhā 'Ubayn finally says that both Abū Bakr and 'Umar (in the case of 'Thālid) were 'Muftahids' and both tried to please Allāh by their 'Ijtihād'.

---

1. 'Abqariyyah 'Umar: 7:224.

2. Ibid: PP: 26.

3. Ibid: 1:266-267.

4. Ibid: PP: 268.

5. Ibid: 7:282-284.

6. Al-Shaykhān: PP: 74-75.

7. Ibid: 7:85.

It has been a favourite issue with many a 'Orientalist' to accuse 'Umar of high-handedness in dealing with the Christians of Najran who were allowed by the Prophet to occupy their land, and to retain their religion. Then, at the instance of 'A'la Bin Hanyjah, 'Umar ordered their ~~expulsion~~ expulsion according to them, he broke the trust. Haykal has conducted a deep study of the issue and has pointed out that their existence in the Arab Peninsula was becoming harmful for Islam. Their interest based dealings and concept of 'Trinity' were cutting at the roots of the Islamic ideology. A political unity which 'Umar wanted to turn the Arab Peninsula into was impossible to be achieved in these circumstances. No ~~poor~~ just historian can accuse 'Umar of high-handedness in this matter. It is a common practice even these days. The Salibi Wars and the clashes between the Protestants and the Catholics are events of this nature. In fact, of this development presents to us the character of 'Umar in yet more brilliant colours. Had these Orientalists any regard for justice and honesty of purpose, they would have appreciated him for ordering his governor to put two options before the Christians of Najran:

(1) either to change their religion and enjoy all those facilities to which the Muslims were entitled including the right to retain their lands;

(2) Or to uphold their own faith and to leave the Arab Peninsula. In that case they <sup>were</sup> assured of full compensation in terms of moveable and immovable property.

The Agadain (Two Loins) - the Roman and the Persian Empires as they were popularly known by the Arabs for their tremendous military power in terms of men and material - had already consumed much of their energies by having fought with each other for quite a long time. This had subsequently resulted in infighting, jealousies and intrigues which almost broke their remaining power. But it must be

---

1. Al-Naraj (Umar) Vol. I: 103-105.

2. Ibid: 105-106.

noted that their imperialistic designs were becoming stronger than before. This is why the Sassanians instigated the Bedouins bordering the areas near their frontier to rise against the Muslims and actively supported the Christians of Najran to persecute the Muslims. On the other side the Persians actively supported 'Anabshir' King of Aswad al-'Ans in 'Aman. These developments were shaping the events in such a way that war between the Muslims and these two empires had become unavoidable. In these circumstances the primary job of a Muslim 'Caliph was to ensure the safety of the Muslims, protect the boundaries and ward off the fear psychosis. Umar Abu Bakr rose to the occasion and made the beginning but was soon overtaken by death. Mu'awiyah had to face the challenge. He faced the challenge boldly and changed the course of history. If the life history of Mu'awiyah is to be understood in its right perspective and deep insight into his character is to be gained it is necessary to study and record a detailed account of these wars. This necessity has made Nayyal to conduct an elaborate, detailed and scientific study of these wars. In fact a major portion of his two volume work consists of the description of these wars. He is all complaint against earlier Arab historians who paid a little attention to the description of the conquest of Egypt at the hands of the Arabs and its after effects. This is why Nayyal has specified one hundred and forty pages of his work for the description of the conquest of Egypt. He has given a detailed description of the geography of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and all the other battle fields; the analysis of social, political, economic, cultural and religious conditions of the people of these places; the account of the personal life of the kings and the commanders of the armies on both the sides and the factors responsible for the victory of one army and defeat of the other. He has also vividly depicted the scenes of the battle field against the war strategy set by the commanders on either side. He has not forgotten to fully exhibit to the reader the concern

---

1. Al-'Ara'iq' Vol: I: P 19.

2. Ibid: 162-200. (Vol: I)



of Umar for his amir and the guidelines he issued to them from time to time. Umar repeatedly directed him to write to him daily about the developments at war fronts and he faithfully obeyed the commandment. As for 'Aqqa and 'Abd al-'Aziz, it was no concern of both of them as they had taken it on themselves to highlight only certain aspects of Umar's character and personality rather than giving a systematic account of his life. Now one wishes they had paid attention to this aspect too. Aqqa wrote his book in 1942 and 'Abd al-'Aziz in 1944. <sup>when</sup> King Faysal was ruling Syria with an iron hand, had suspended all civil liberties and corruption was rampant. 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote his book in 1960 when the experiment with new form of government had utterly fallen short of the expectations of the people. The kingdom had already made its vices known, the revolution took eight years to unveil its real face before the people. The people were disappointed with both. It is why that all three authors have undertaken a detailed study of the administration of Umar and have highlighted his justice. Haykal says that the last basis of Umar's politics

-1-

was Islamic law that ensured for him the Arab unity. He made the Islamic domain a confederation of states with a powerful centre. Madinah was the last resting

-2-

place of the Prophet and the first capital of the Islamic state so Umar did not change it. The basis of his government was Shura (consultation) as per

-3-

Islamic injunction. And their decisions were by consultation. He adopted strict policy towards Shu'bah of Qays and Banu 'Ashim and did not appoint them as governors or secretaries with the apprehension that doing so may lead to

-4-

people to think that government was their heritage. Umar did not prompt him to change his life standard and feel himself more privileged than

-5-

others. He widened the Masjid al-Haram as it had become too small to accommodate

the worshippers. Its plinth was laid of stones, walls made of bricks, pillars raised

1. Al-Farami: 17: 1205.

2. Ibid: 1207.

3. Ibid: 1202-203.

4. Ibid: 1204.

5. Ibid: 1210-211.

6. Ibid: 1212.

of st wood and the roof laid of thatch. From this simple building did  
 he issue orders that knocked down the powerful armies of 'ayyar and 'Marrā. He  
 personally saw to it that none in his domain was left to trouble, <sup>-1-</sup> guarded the  
 city and helped the poor. He always took keen interest in seeing that wheels  
 of justice were on in the right direction. He knew no exception for any one  
 before law, not even for his own sons. He strictly censured the wrong actions  
 of his governors, dismissed them if found guilty and annexed their property to  
 Bait al-Mal if convinced that the money was made by misappropriation. He got  
 prepared a comprehensive code for the people and fixed allowances for  
 all the Muslims in his domain. In doing so he thus followed a strict order of  
 rank priority beginning with the Prophet's closest relation in descending order.  
 To achieve further unification of the Muslim Arabs he declared Hijrah as the  
 starting point of the Islamic calendar. This sympathy and kindness made the  
 rule of 'Umar beloved of the people. They saw in the Khalifah a father for  
 every one weak, orphan, bereaved and bereft. Thus his justice, love for freedom  
 and equality were responsible for making his rule a blessing for the people.  
 Apart to these are the views expressed by 'Abū 'Ubayy as we have already seen  
 in the previous chapter. As has already been said, 'Aqqād's whole work is  
 concerned with highlighting these aspects of 'Umar's personality. In fact he has  
 specified separate chapters to discuss each of these qualities. In a chapter in  
 captioned "Umar and the Islamic Domain" he has given a brief resume of what he  
 has written in other chapters elaborately. In his eulogical style he has paid  
 a befitting homage to 'Umar's endeavours and has concluded the discussion with  
 the remark: "Before it is said that 'Umar was the first conqueror of the Great  
 era of Islam it needs to be said that he was, from the very beginning of his  
 career, the greatest founder of the Islamic Domain. He laid its basis in the

1. Al-Fārūq 'Umar: Vol: I: 213.

2. Ibid: P: 215-217.

3. Ibid: P: 218.

4. Ibid: P: 210-225.

5. Ibid: P: 227-236.

6. Ibid: P: 205.

7. Ibid: P: 216.

8. Ibid: P: 216-217.

9. 'Abū 'Ubayy 'Umar: P: 1143-1144.

Faith and not on the sword...." In fact the history of Umar and the history of the Tabi'ic Muslim cannot be separated from each other."

-2-

Under the title "A key to his personality" 'Aqad has presented an interesting study of the strong personality of Umar and has discussed the main factors responsible for his straight forward attitude. He says that throughout his life he knew that "order is order and obedience is obedience". This made his inner self "to correspond necessarily outwards to give a positive strong army spirit emerge out of it and to make him to stick to the leader and spirit of law. Hence an explanation for awarding 'add to anyone whomsoever he try have been. This moulded Umar into a "soldier of God in the fields of the Faith and the Truth". So the key to his personality lies in his army spirit which he inherited and did not acquire with training for or education."

-4-

With this key 'Aqad has opened many locks of Umar's personality and this has enabled him to conduct a deeper study of his psychology. His psychological study of Umar's personality has made him to come to the conclusion that "his personality was like a knotted rope that could neither be cut nor divided into parts". Hence an explanation for his strong personality which, was, no doubt, the result of his strong body. The effect this personality had on others can be assessed from the fact that Ibn al-Jar'aini 'Aishah built a wall of bricks to separate her apartment from the last resting shades of the prophet, Abu Bakr and Umar. This she did after the burial of Umar there. Before it she must have contended with certain separating her apartment from this portion. This real-

-4-

ly is the height of the effect of Umar's strong personality. After conducting an analysis of the moral of Umar, 'Aqad says that he justified by his character the truth of the Prophet's saying: "Whoever I like, Umar Bin al-Qat'ab is with me, wherever he lives I am with him and after the Truth is with Umar"

-7-

Bin al-Qat'ab wherever he may be," 'Aqad has also given a brief account of the most art polished taste of Umar for literature, knowledge, poetry and fine arts.

1. 'Abu-riyah Umar: P. 110.

2. Ibid: 167-170.

3. Ibid: P. 104.

4. Ibid: 111-98.

5. Ibid: 113.

6. Ibid: 124.

7. Ibid: 124.

8. Ibid: 130.

'Aqqad has drawn a brief comparison between the Khilāfah as run by 'Umar and the modern governments. He sees no reason why an apology be tendered for the unjust actions of 'Umar which do not stand the test of the wrong standards set by democracy and freedom of individual as understood today. His deep concern to see him self at par with the others will not fascinate the present day ruler who wants to maintain pomp and show; his 'self negation' will carry little weight with the modern ruler who joins the government empty handed and leaves it with bank balance, the palace and property - but all the time obeying the constitution not to take more than he is duly entitled to; his fair and fearless attitude towards his governors will seem "un-diplomatic" to the modern rulers as they depend on them for the safety of their rule. To the upholders of individual liberty the summary trials of 'Umar seem unjust but they continue to praise the work done by the Secret Agencies which punish, torture and kill in cold blood thousands without even making them to know what their fault was.

As compared to it the characteristic of 'Aykal's work is that he has given a detailed account of 'Umar's Ijtihād in religious matters. He has substantiated his discussion with appropriate examples. Whenever 'Umar's Ijtihād sounded to him ill-based, he has pointed it out and given his own version in the light of the views held by the modern and ancient Muslim scholars. He has given a full description of the social life and the change it underwent in the Khilāfah of 'Umar. He has also given a account of such life in Jahilliyyah, the Prophet's and 'Abū Bakr's times to make the comparative study easy. These details we do not find in the work of Taha 'Ubayn.

Taha 'Ubayn and 'Aqqad have described the assassination of 'Umar in a bit of detail, but 'Aykal's account is more descriptive, and all the three agree that Abū

Mū, 'Ammār, 'Ubayyah and 'Abū al-Aḥbar had hatched the conspiracy to avenge the

1. 'Abqariyah (Umar) PP: 202.

2. Ibid: P: 193.

3. Ibid: P: 199-200.

4. Ibid: P: 199.

5. Ibid: P: 205-206. 6. Al-Farūq 'Umar: Vol: I: PP: 271-302.

7. Ibid: PP: 281, 284, 286, 288-291.

8. Ibid: PP: 239-272.

9. Ibid: P: 303-333.

10. Al-Shaykhūn: PP: 244-245.

11. Al-Farūq 'Umar: Vol: I: P: 353-359.

fall of their national governments." He fell a victim to the double pronged knife of Abū Bakr al-Lithī. 'Aqād says: "He left the world being the greatest of all the just people, was tyrannised and accused of tyranny. How much did this end

-1-

justify his being grasped only just". 'Aqād says: "God bless Umar and he pleased with him, verily he was from amongst his faithful servants". 'Abū Hurayrah says,

-2-

"And so the life and death of Umar became source of benefit for the Muslims".

-3-

The Fitnah which took place during the Khilāfah of 'Uthmān and which divided the Muslims among themselves let loose the tongues of unscrupulous scholars to talk what their prejudices made them to and to write what their professional dishonesty dictated. They were bound by no rules and regulations and guided by no principles. Their eagerness to fabricate juicy tales made them to read the intentions (that never occurred in the secret minds) of Sahābah in connection with the election of the third Khilāfah. The most abominable act of them all in the view point of some orientalists that the Shūrā Body of six Sahābah appointed by Umar to elect one of them as next Khilāfah gave its mandate to 'Abd-al-Rahmān bin al-'Awf to finally choose 'Uthmān to the post because they thought him too old to survive many more years. So they thought that soon they will be in the queue. Others say that his election to the post was in itself responsible for changing the Khilāfah into the Kingship and for reserving this Kingship exclusively for the Banū Hasyrah. This made it necessary for the Muslim scholars to write dispassionately about the prior issues of this Fitnah and to present a balanced picture of the events before the reader. 'Abū Hurayrah did so in his book 'Uthmān published in 1947 and 'Alī wa Hurayrah published in 1953. Both these books were published later under the title 'Al-Fitnah al-Kubrā Vol. I: (Uthmān) and Vol. II: (Alī wa Hurayrah). In both these books 'Abū Hurayrah has conducted a deep analysis of the events which led to the Fitnah and which adversely told upon the unity of the Muslims. We have already given a brief critical analysis

1. 'Abqariyah 'Umar: PP: 359.

2. Al-'Aqād 'Umar: Vol. I: PP: 333.

3. Al-Shaykh 'Anī: 1255.

4. Dhū al-Hurayrah: PP: 151.

5. Ibid: PP: 151-152.

of both these works. Here we are concerned with them for a comparative study with 'Aqqād's Ḍu al-Ḥurayn and 'Aburriyah Ḥayn 'Alī. The former was published in 1954, and the latter in 1949.

As for Ḍu al-Ḥurayn, 'Aqqād has, in its foreword, made it clear that the book is mainly concerned with highlighting some aspects of 'Uthayn's life and personality and is not meant to be a systematic account of his life.

While giving an account of 'Uthayn's life, character, qualities and achievements, from his ~~birth~~ birth to his being elected Ḥalīfah, 'Aqqād's main concern seems to ~~have~~ have been to highlight the differences which Banī Ḥashim and Banī 'Umayyah had in the heathenic Period of the Arab History. These differences, according to 'Aqqād, were the main reason which prompted Banī 'Umayyah to obtain from being a party to Ḥalf al-ʿAdāl in the Jāhili Period because the move was originally sponsored by Banī Ḥashim<sup>(2)</sup>. Hence an explanation as to why Banī 'Umayyah were ardent enemies of the Islamic Movement and the Prophet till the conquest of Makkah. It is, no doubt, a fact that in the Jāhili Period the swords once drawn out of scabbards would scarcely be put back into their sheaths until one of the parties was not completely demolished and this again was a severe, but 'Alam put an end to this unfortunate chapter and closed it though only for the time being. It is very difficult to agree with 'Aqqād when he says that the tribal prejudices were the main cause which hindered Banī 'Umayyah to enter the fold of Islam. Had it been the sole cause then Banī Ḥashim should have one and all entered the fold without even a bit of hesitation. But we see that the case is contrary to it. The main achievement of 'Alam was that it, from its very beginning, discarded every difference on this basis. It is unfortunate that 'Aqqād has tried to draw these heathenic prejudices into 'Alam and see in them the causes which led to the later 'Umayyah. No doubt, they played their part, but were not solely responsible for it. One wrong conclusion leads to another. 'Aqqād's expression to absolve 'Uthayn of the charge of relying upon a man of

---

1. Ḍu al-Ḥurayn: PP: 7.

2. Ibid: PP: 45.

3. Ibid: PP: 47.

dubious character and weak Faith like Marwan Bin al-Thuman has made him to say that for these causes (tribal prejudices) he had no alternative but to do so. He was extorted from his obedience which he could not have from any one else. With this submission in view 'Aqqad has held that 'Uthman had neither strong nor weak personality, but it was a moderate one, the wonder how to agree with 'Aqqad's observation. A man who, being Khalifah, cannot extort obedience from a person other than his closest relative cannot surely get much work at the 'Rating Box Scale' as to mark his personality moderate. It becomes yet more difficult to accept it when we remember that the peace initiative taken by 'Uthman with 'Ali that was destined to prove productive of desired results was sabotaged by this very Marwan, as he saw in its success the end to his personal career.

Nevertheless, 'Aqqad has conducted a deep psycho-analytical study of 'Uthman's personality and has described the qualities of his brain and body. His main stress has been on the description of his generosity, selflessness, sound economic condition, traditional values, shyness, humility, want knowledge of Arabic al-Lughah and 'Ilm al-Kutub, constant over reading, writing and oratory, close association with the Prophet that bestowed upon him the unique honour of marrying his two daughters one after another, spending generously for the cause of Islam, working as special secretary of the Prophet, working as Khatib al-Madina, establishing his credentials as a selfless, far sighted and spirited genius at the time of Abu Bakr's Khalifah particularly when filling the name of 'Umar in the gap caused by the unconsciousness of 'Abu Bakr while he was dictating his will in connection with the nomination of the next Khalifah and discharging

1. Dhul al-Hijjah: PP: 71.

2. Ibid: PP: 77-78.

3. Ibid: PP: 58.

4. Ibid: PP: 66-67.

5. Ibid: PP: 57-58.

6. Ibid: PP: 65.

7. Ibid: PP: 59-60.

8. Ibid: PP: 77-78.

9. Ibid: PP: 79-81.

10. Ibid: PP: 82-83.

11. Ibid: PP: 82.

12. Ibid: PP: 87.

13. Ibid: PP: 89-90.

14. Ibid: PP: 90-91.

15. Ibid: PP: 91.

16. Ibid: PP: 92-94.

-1-

his services as a humble servant of Islam in the Khilāfah of Umar. 'Aqqad has also given an exact account of 'Uthmān's early life which was perfectly successful. 'Aqqad has taken all this to mean that the 'psychological self' of 'Uthmān was perfect'.  
-2-  
-3-

From the time of 'Uthmān's acceptance of the Faith to his being elected to the post of Khilāfah the financial condition of the people underwent a tremendous change. A time was when the Muslims were very hard pressed for money, had frequently to take recourse to the borrower and had to undergo fasts. But gradually the situation changed till, in the Khilāfah of 'Uthmān, excess money was a problem. It gave rise to inflation. There was excess of money in the times of Abū Bakr and Umar as well, but both of them kept it under control with the help of their sound economic policies. After Umar's death the old values did not continue for long as it was the time when old generation was fading away though not fully and new cropping up though not blooming. 'Aqqad has conducted a very hit detailed study of the social conditions of the Muslim world preceding the election of 'Uthmān and has given an account of the general basis on which Umar shaped his economic, political and administrative policies.  
-4-  
-5-  
-6-  
-7-

Before we proceed further it must be borne in mind that 'Abū 'Ubayy's description regarding these and allied matters is more elaborate, scholastic, systematic and objective. He has never hesitated in calling a spade a spade. Though this urge has sometimes, made him to cross the genuine limits and this we have already pointed out, yet his endeavours are praise worthy.

As we have already said, the political anarchy in the later period of 'Uthmān Khilāfah was directly responsible for the Fitnah and for those contradictory reports about the events which fill the pages of the history books and which have

---

1. Abū al-'Ubayy: PP: 94-95.

2. Ibid: PP: 94-107.

3. Ibid: PP: 104.

4. Ibid: PP: 114.

5. Ibid: PP: 123.

6. Ibid: PP: 121.

7. Ibid: PP: 108-123.



made it a difficult task for a historian to reach a sound conclusion.<sup>1</sup>

'Aqūd has dealt with the election of 'Uthmān to the post of Khalīfah in a bit of detail.<sup>2</sup> He has ~~repeatedly~~ upheld the narration to the effect that 'Umar had

ordered 'Uthmān to allow three days time to the 'Shūrā 'Bodī' to reach a final decision. And, in case it does not reach it within the prescribed time limit, to

-1-

kill the dissenting persons after the third day. But 'Abū 'Hurayrah has rightly refuted it on the basis that it does not carry any weight when viewed with

reference to the context. 'Umar could not have ordered this and the 'Shūrā 'Bodī'

-2-

'Shūrā 'Bodī' was rightly expected to arrive at a collective decision. Similarly

the contention that 'Alī hesitated to give his oath of loyalty to 'Uthmān and

he did so only ~~after~~ after 'Uthmān's admonition in a 'Shūrā 'Bodī' is also not

-3-

held ground in the face of 'Abū 'Hurayrah's research. It must be noted that 'Abū

'Hurayrah is right in saying that those who say so are aspersions on the person-

-4-

ality and the Faith of 'Alī.

The ~~researcher~~ <sup>researcher</sup> ~~name~~ <sup>name</sup> of 'Umar was sufficient enough to send chill down

-5-

the spine of the Romans and the Persians but no terror was he killed than the

-6-

uprisings of the Romans, the Turks and the Persians took place. Now 'Uthmān faced

-7-

this challenge and how he ran his Khilāfah has been briefly described by 'Aqūd.

He has also tried to dwell on those events which finally led to the emergence

of the 'Fitnah', the subsequent uprising and the assassination of 'Uthmān. In doing

so his attempt has been, to a great extent, similar to that of 'Abū 'Hurayrah except

that 'Abū 'Hurayrah has laid full responsibility on 'Uthmān for pursuing a number

-8-

of wrong policies and 'Aqūd has tried to exonerate him of them all. 'Abū 'Hurayrah

has neglected the positive role of 'Uthmān in running the Khilāfah, while 'Aqūd

does not speak of any lapse in his administration. Strangely enough both the

writers are wrong as well as right. Wrong because in order to have a clear

1. Uthmān al-'Uraynī: P: 113.

2. Uthmān: P: 1.

3. Ibid: P: 155.

4. Ibid: P: 153.

5. Ibid: P: 153.

6. Ibid: P: 154.

7. Uthmān al-'Uraynī: P: 153-154.

8. Ibid: P: 154-155.

conception of the things both in the aspects of his life need to be fully emphasized which they have not done and right because Tāhā Husayn has undertaken to study the causes of the Fitnah and 'Aqqād the description of the genius of 'Ithmān. But both have made the treasure of the Arabic literature to suffer a lot by avoiding to write on both the aspects from their own angles.

The oft repeated filmy role of 'Abd-Allah 'in Subā' and the myth related to it does not hold any ground with the ~~sound~~ research of Tāhā Husayn. He terms these details as baseless, ill founded and an exaggeration. But 'Aqqād has upheld and described them in a bit of detail. The ~~deep~~ research conducted by Tāhā Husayn in this case and the results deduced by him oblige us to fall in line with his view point.

Up to this date no just scholar has ~~not~~ legalised the wrong of the rebels who laid a ~~an~~ siege round the house of 'Ithmān for about forty days, cut all the supplies including water and finally assassinated the Khalifah. However, ~~contending~~ their demands may have been, they had no right to rise in arms against the genuinely elected Khalifah so long as he continued to administer justice. No doubt 'Ithmān's ~~lapses~~ ~~lapses~~ were many and of grave nature, but they never justified the end he met at the hands of the rebels. 'Aqqād holds the same view point saying that the originators of the move were ~~some~~ men of ambiguous character. ~~Akin to it~~ is Tāhā Husayn's view point.

To sum up the comparative study of the biographies of 'Ithmān written by Tāhā Husayn and 'Aqqād it can safely be said that 'Ithmān written by Tāhā Husayn ~~not~~ excels in all fields. It is an elaborate, systematic, objective and a convincing study. But it does not, however, minimize the value of Ithmān al-Murayy by 'Aqqād which continues to be absorbing for its psycho-analytical approach of 'Ithmān's personality. But as regards the details, particularly those concerning the Khalifah of 'Ithmān and the causes of the Fitnah, the book miserably fails. It is, however, a good piece of eulogy for 'Ithmān.

---

1. Ithmān I: 17-17.

2. Ithmān al-Murayy: 170-171.

3. Ibid: 120-21.

4. Ithmān: II: 270-274.

The first phase of the Fitnah got closed with the assassination of 'Uthmān at the hands of the rebels and with its closure ~~mark~~ opened a new phase which was yet more destructive, disastrous and ominous for the history of Islam. The war of Jamal and Siffin and the clashes between the Khawārij and the forces of 'Alī painted the Muslim land with the blood of thousands of the innocent & Faithful. It is very difficult for a historian to write objectively on this period because the prominent Sahābah were set against one another in these internecine wars. We can have an idea of the magnitude of the work when we remember that the war of Jamal was fought between 'Alī on the one side and 'Isa al-Tūsinī, 'Aḥmad, 'Abū al-Ḥayr on the other; the war of Siffin between 'Alī and 'Ubayy and there were bloody clashes between 'Alī and the Khawārij whose war cry was 'Lā Ilāhā illā Allāh (There is no judge other than Allah). This will, in itself, make it clear that the armies on either side fought with religious fervor and thought themselves soldiers of Islam fighting for its cause. The job of a writer becomes yet more difficult because of the fact that the Muslim community continues to remain divided among itself on the issue. The endeavours of Ṭahā Ḥusayn and 'Aqūd to write a biographical account of 'Alī are basically meant to study the events of his life in a dispassionate way without any pre-conceived ideas. Ṭahā Ḥusayn's 'Alī wa Ḥamāh and 'Aqūd's Abqariyah al-Ḥamā view the events from different angles but both serve the same purpose and their comparative study helps understand many issues in their right perspective. It should, however, be noted that Ṭahā Ḥusayn's work is written in a systematic order while 'Aqūd's work is intended to highlight some of the aspects of 'Alī's life. This has compelled him to write under different titles all of whom are ~~supposed~~ separate entities. His main concern has been to understand the development in and psychological aspect of 'Alī's personality.

'Aqūd has conducted a comparative study of the social conditions prevalent in the Muslim world at the times of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī. The first two Khulafā' strictly guarded Baṭl al-Ḥal against any mis-appropriation, disallowed undue facilities to their tribesmen, followed the Sunnah scrupulously, renounced comfortable and prosperous life for themselves, kept a vigil on their governors and

strictly forbade prominent 'ahābāh to live anywhere other than Madīnah. But unfortunately 'Uthmān did not fully pursue this policy. This had very disastrous effect on the smooth running of the government. A powerful, wealthy and influential class came into being which resisted every move to bring them under the control of the supreme authority of law. This unfortunate situation was no strengthened that a state of anarchy was virtually in the up-bringing. Neither the sentiments of worldly pains were happy and obedient, nor religious people were happy and obedient and the poor and the ignorant were not also happy and obedient. Every

one of them was sorry, restless and discontented. This social and moral apathy was a burning problem for 'Alī and this was made more awesome by the fact that

'Abū Bakr always tried to draw his share from it. He exploited every opportunity to bribe, in one way or the other, the supporters of 'Alī. As much the people were in corruption mixed.

While giving an account of the election of 'Alī to the post of Khilāfah, 'Abū Bakr has dealt in a bit of detail with the role of 'Alī during the siege laid by the rebels around 'Uthmān's house. Up to the last 'Alī tried to persuade the rebels to lift the siege and to go to their respective places but could not succeed due to the manoeuvring of 'Uthmān and unfortunately 'Uthmān was assassinated. Afterwards under pressing circumstances 'Alī had to accede to the offer of the rebels, 'Abū Bakr and 'Alī to accept the post of Khilāfah. But soon a most controversial chapter was opened in the Islamic history. After failing to acquire post of governorship for themselves, 'Abū Bakr and Zubayr persuaded 'Aishah to join them in demanding cancellation of the blood of 'Uthmān. It must be noted that many historians believe 'Abū Bakr to be one of the prominent instigators of Fitnah against 'Uthmān. As a result war of Jamal took place in which 'Alī's army emerged victorious. 'Abū Bakr was never sincere in demanding cancellation of 'Uthmān's

1. 'Abqariyah al-Fitnah: 161.

2. Ibid: 161.

3. Ibid: 164.

4. Ibid: 153-57.

5. Ibid: 119-20.

6. Ibid: 119-20.

7. Ibid: 125.

blood. Had he been so, he would not have adopted lenient posture towards them

-1-

after he became the King. Similar was the case with 'Amr Bin al-'As who is believed

-2-

to have openly criticised 'Uthman and instigated the rebels against him. All this

means that 'Ali was ~~xxxx~~ striving for the establishment of Khilāfah in its real

-3-

sense and Mu'awiyah was after Kingship. A bloody confrontation took place

between the armies of 'Ali and Mu'awiyah at Siffin and which 'Ali's army were

about to win but for the cunning approach of Mu'awiyah. The final defeat of 'Ali

was not because he was beaten in the battle field, but because his enemies

-4-

took to cheating, defrauding and shameful activities. The Mawā'ij pulled the last

curtain when they hatched a conspiracy to do away with 'Ali and he fell victim

to the sword of Ibn 'uljan. 'Abū Husayn's approach too is also akin to it as we

have already seen.

'Aqūd has discussed in a bit of detail the political approach of 'Ali

and the policies adopted by him for the welfare of the people. Critics accuse

of

him/exhibiting short-sightedness in dismissing Mu'awiyah from the governorship

of Syria and Umayy Bin Sa'd from the governorship of Egypt, dealing unwisely

at Siffin.

ically with Talhah and Zubayr and accepting the appointment of 'Ubaydullah/Not only

-5-

this, they criticise him for ~~accepting~~ accepting Khilāfah itself. But a more care-

ful study of the ~~the~~ events will make it clear that he was compelled to do so.

-7-

He accepted Khilāfah only after he was threatened by the rebels, accepted

-8-

'Abdullah because his army was divided among itself on the issue, dismissed Mu'awiyah

-9-

and Umayy because he could not compromise with his conscience and disallowed the

petition of Talhah and Umayy for governorship because in their insistence he

smelt

-10-

ret. In fact the way in which he tried to conduct the business of Khilāfah was

exactly like that of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. He strictly followed the Qurān and the

Sunnah, directed his governors to maintain peace and justice, treated every one on

1. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Asadī: PP: 85.

2. Ibid: PP: 86.

3. Ibid: PP: 83-84.

4. Ibid: PP: 100-101.

5. Ibid: PP: 114.

6. Ibid: PP: 181-83.

7. Ibid: PP: 125-127.

8. Ibid: PP: 115-118, 120-123.

9. Ibid: PP: 118-120.

equal footing, admonished his governors in case they indulged in some wrong activity, strictly guarded Haft-al-Haj against mis-appropriation and never allowed preferential treatment to any - not even to himself. These and many other measures were responsible for ~~xxx~~ reviving the Khilāfah in its true spirit but the corrupting influence of Al-'Awfiyah was undoing their effect. It must be noted here that this exactly is the crux of the research of Abū Ḥurayrah as well. But his presentation is dignified and elaborate. He has described all the relevant matters and has given the different versions of the events. He has also presented their effects.

The main characteristic of such works of Al-'Awfiyah is the psycho-analytical study of the personality of his hero. In this book as well he has provided a detailed study of the qualities of brain and body of Al-'Awfiyah. He had a stout body structure fit for a brave, courageous and militant man and so he was. No big or small incident could frighten him and his war cry would shake many heroes in their shoes. His bravery was responsible for creating firm faith in his heart. Volent means adopted by his enemies against him could not induce him to part away with his fair play. Al-'Awfiyah says that we can easily put these qualities in this order: "Brave because he was strong; truthful because he was brave; forthright ascetic because he was truthful; recitant against division because truth does not swing the truthful between contentment and discontentment and acceptance and rejection". Al-'Awfiyah says that since Al-'Awfiyah was a brave horseman, the qualities of a spirited soldier could be found in him. This is why he allowed Al-'Awfiyah and his army to use the water. Al-'Awfiyah says that it was under Al-'Awfiyah's control and he had forbidden Al-'Awfiyah's army to use it. Al-'Awfiyah says that this spirit of heroism is the main key to his personality. Al-'Awfiyah has also highlighted his qualities as a faithful Muslim, his scholarship, knowledge, obedience to law,

1. Al-'Awfiyah al-Jadid: 149-158.

2. Thid: PP: 16-17.

3. Thid: 22.

4. Thid: 29-30.

5. Thid: 31.

6. Thid: 37.

7. Thid: 40.

8. Thid: 44.

9. Thid: PP: 46-50.

10. Thid: PP: 45.

-1-

humanistic attitude even towards his enemies, complete mastery over (urdu)<sup>265</sup>  
 -2- -3- -4- -5- -6- -7-  
 prudence, poetry, philosophy, grammar, mathematics and military commandship. In  
 view of these qualities 'Aqqād concludes that "He was most deserving of all others  
 -8-  
 to be surmamed as 'Isām".

'Aqqād has also given a brief account of the family life of 'Alī, his  
 relations with his wives, children and servants and his judgement of the  
 -9-  
 behaviour of women. After giving a general assessment of Tāhā 'Alī's personality,  
 he has concluded the book with a glowing tribute to him "what end was more be-  
 fitting for this just and martyr than this. As we know, he was born in 'A'bah  
 and struck in the mosque... what beginning and end is more befitting for this  
 -10-  
 life which was in between that beginning and this end".

We have already said that, having psychological analysis of 'Alī's person-  
 ality, Tāhā Husayn's work excels 'Aqqād's in almost every field. Tāhā Husayn's  
 presentation of the material in a systematic order, neat synthesis of the events,  
 simplified discussions, scholarly approach and convincing conclusions hold the  
 completely. At the same time we must admit, in this case as well, that it does not  
 diminish the value of 'Aqqād's work which continues to fascinate the reader for  
 its psycho-analytical approach. But it miserably fails in systematic presentation  
 of facts and events. In 'Dhū al-Murayn' he has very vehemently pleaded the case of  
 'Uthmān and even of 'Urwān and with some vehemence has he pleaded the case  
 against them in 'Abqariyah Tāhā 'Alī. Here he had tried to find the causes of  
 'Uthmān some where else and here his main concern is to see them in the wrong  
 policies of 'Uthmān and dubious character of 'Urwān.

This brief comparative study of the biographical literature produced  
 by Tāhā Husayn, 'Aqqād, Husayn 'Ayūb and 'Abbas 'Aqqād brings us to the  
 description and evaluation of some of the other major fields in which they

1. 'Abqariyah Tāhā' 170.

2. Ibid: 181-183.

3. Ibid: 176-177.

4. Ibid: 170-181.

5. Ibid: 182.

6. Ibid: 186.

7. Ibid: 189-192.

8. Ibid: 175.

9. Ibid: 195-201.

10. Ibid: 208.

have adopted alike approach and also of the field where their method of research has been different from one another. Side by side it makes it imperative on us to briefly describe the method of description of the events and incidents as employed by each of them. It will be serving our purpose to state in here that where as all the biographical literature produced by 'Shā' 'Usayn and 'Haydar' has been included in this study only the 'Abḡarīyah series on the Prophet, Aḡā 'Isk, 'Isr, 'Iḡān and 'Iḡ written by 'Aḡḡā have been included. This selection has been made because these titles correspond with the title of some of 'Shā' 'Usayn's biographical works. Hence the study is inclusive as regards the works of 'Haydar and 'Shā' 'Usayn and exclusive as regards 'Aḡḡā.

"I have just seen, in the comparative study, that all the three scholars have expressed their resolve to conduct the study of their heroes in a dispassionate manner, observe all the rules of scientific criticism and adopt unbiased attitude. All the three have shown no inclination towards the description of the miracles and myths. It should, however, be borne in mind that 'Shā' 'Usayn's 'Ala 'Uḡā al-ḡā 'Iḡā does not stand the test of this standard.

"To gain deeper insight in to the magnitude of the task performed by the heroes of their work, all the three have given a detailed account of the historical, political, social, economic, religious, cultural and literary background of the particular place in discussion. This discussion is more elaborate in the works of 'Haydar and 'Shā' 'Usayn than of 'Aḡḡā. The details regarding them have been put to cross examination and the accurate one (as it seemed to be) has been accepted. Here again 'Aḡḡā cannot fully claim this characteristic.

All the books included in the comparative study concern religious personalities. Some of them were written when the Egyptians had already been disgusted with the monarchy and its vices, while the others have been written when the hopes

---



and aspirations of the people attached to the new system of government had been betrayed by its faulty performance. We find a calculated move by all the three scholars to amply clarify their stand about the relevance of Islam to the modern times. We see them declaring in unequivocal terms that the Islamic Khilāfah is the only cure for the modern ills. They have compared and contrasted the Islamic Khilāfah with Monarchy, Democracy, Aristocracy, Anarchy, Dictatorship, Socialism, Communism, Capitalism etc, and have reached to the conclusion that Islam is the best reflection of Nature's which it is nearer to the human nature. And this makes the Khilāfah most ideal form of government.

In the modern times some Orientalists and enemies of Islam have, in the name of a scholarship and scientific research, given vent to their malice against Islam and levelled ill-bred allegations against the heroes of Islam, and, in particular, against the Prophet. We see a conscious attempt made by these scholars to present the truth as only the truth to the reader. And, as such, they have clarified many issues that had been blurred by biased approach of some of the Orientalists.

All the three scholars have tried to give an account of the hereditary traits of their heroes and to give them an explanation of their actions and behaviour. Dr. Aqad's attempt in this regard is more rewarding than that of Abū al-Hasan and Haykal's.

In studying one's personality it is greatly helpful to give an account of his philosophy. This makes it necessary to conduct his psycho-analytical study. All the three authors have tried, according to their capacity, to make such a study and present its results. Here again, it must be borne in mind that Dr. Aqad's attempt excels that of Abū al-Hasan and Haykal's.

Haykal's art of presentation can easily be named as "the presentation of the Biography". In presenting his research he follows the dignified style of such masters of lore as Abū al-Hasan, Imam al-Ghazālī, Imam al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, and Imam al-Ash'arī whose works have served as the basis of his own. He has ~~xxx~~ compared and ~~xxx~~ contrasted

308

scholastically the information contained in one source with that of the other has discussed both of them fully and adopted the one which sounded more authentic to him. He has even given his own explanation of the events and their causes. His deep research has been of particular help in ascertaining the truth of a narration and his scholastic approach for clearing many misunderstandings. Furthermore, adoption of this style has made his works some thing like a jurist's discussion. His main job has been to screen the text, given his explanation and a reasoning of the actions and the conclusions these led to. This has made him to employ the words and sentences that befit such a grave discussion. It is why we can find in his works a dignified discussion of equally dignified style.

'Aqqad is a originator of a novel type of biography writing in the Arabic. He originated it and helped it attain higher standards. We can easily name it as "the Depiction of the Picture" of the hero of his work. His style of presentation is neither strictly the "Biographical One" as is known in the Arabic literature nor "Interpretation of the Biography" as is known in the European languages. It is, on the other hand, a picturisation of one's personality in which the features are hastily but artistically drawn so that "a human" gets evolved out of it. The most important characteristic of this style is that 'Aqqad presents the reader with "A key to the Personality" of his hero so that he immediately comes to know who he is. And then he proceeds to open the doors of his personality one by one and enables the reader to peep in to it through them. His psycho-analytical approach in describing the personality of his hero is a marvellous addition to the Biographical literature of the Arabic. It should, however, be noted that while doing so it does not concern him whether the event described by him is a tiny or an important one. Many a time a small incident has been of greater use to him than a major one.

---

C J

Tāhā Husayn's method of description is fascinating and art of presentation stylistic. It can safely be termed as "The Presentation of the Full & Personality" of the hero of his work. He has acknowledged mastery as far as presenting a scholastic discussion in a simple, lucid and beautiful form is concerned. Much while reading the contents of a book written by him, a reader is unable to say whether the flowery of style has been more important with the author or the gravity of discussion. In fact, both excel each other. He presents the picture of the events, pauses to see which of its features need to be elaborately depicted and then, with singular artistic taste and supreme mastery over words and sentences, presents them in marvellous colours. Barring 'Ilā 'anīsh al-ʿIrāq, all other biographical works of Tāhā Husayn bear down impress of his scholarship as well as of his artistry. His method of discussion has been stylistic, systematic, elaborate and convincing. Though he has, to a great extent, been successful in presenting a psycho-analytical <sup>study</sup> of the hero of his book, yet could not compete 'Aqqād in this field.

---

\* \* \* \* \*

q u i e t

\* \* \*

\*\*

\*

## CHAPTER FIFTY - PART SECOND

"ANĀ" BY 'ABHĀS MAHMOUD AL-'AQQA'D

The autobiography of al-'Aqqād is a posthumous publication. Actually it is a collection of different articles written by him in various journals - all of them concerning either his own life or his out look on life. The earliest of these articles was written in June, 1931 under the caption "Ba'd al-'Arba'īn" (After Forty) and was published in al-'Ilāl. The other articles followed. The book has been published by Dar al-'Ilāl in 1965 under the title "Anā" (I myself) <sup>-1-</sup>

The book is not an autobiography in the strict sense of the term as it does not give an account of the life and events knnd related to it in a chronological and systematic order. In fact, it is an account of the different experiences of the author and his views on a number of issues like intellect, philosophy, psychology, literature, training and cultural and social life.

The works of 'Abhās Mahmoūd al-'Aqqād are characterized by deep psychological and philosophical outlook. In his works on biography he has always tried to give an account of historical, social, political conditions and hereditary traits to find their effect on the life and behaviour of the personality of his hero. He has evaluated his personality with due consideration to these factors. Same is the case with his autobiography. As regards his father, he says that he was disciplinarian, religious minded, pious and eager to guard his honour. His mother was religious minded, contented and inclined towards loneliness. The severe epidemic which swayed Egypt and left behind deep traces of destruction in Amman, the birth place of 'Aqqād, shook every one there. These factors were responsible in making 'Aqqād inclined towards loneliness. He says: "I am immoderately humble and kind ... when people treat me kindly never do I show enmity to them and when one attacks me never do I take pity on him". <sup>-2-</sup>

1. Anā: 15.
2. Ibid: 132.
3. Ibid: PP: 33-36.
4. Ibid: 136.
5. Ibid: 140.
6. Ibid: P: 210.
7. Ibid: P: 21, 211.
8. Ibid: PP: 27.

He is likewise immediately sentimental. The merciless beating of prisoners by the jailers made him to contract illness in the jail where he was imprisoned and the mourning of the patients in hospital was yet more horrible and troublesome for him. He was a lover of the nature and was possessed an inquisitive mind.

'Aqad̄ was a patriot who loved his country more than anything else. His birth place - Az Azwan - was his school which taught him to make it his religion to internationalise politics, represent humanity in literature and widen the horizon of intellect and thought. Speaking about his home town he eloquently says: "It is a permanent town - may it be a town destined to be everlasting - because the signs of eternity in great buildings and idols are indebted to their hard stones while an immortal people with immortal qualities patrol it (day out and day in).... In no era was it meaningless in any form or in any way".

He is staunch critic of the superstitions and those habits of his fellow countrymen which seem to him as unbecoming of a gentleman. His mother would almost always give him a strong scolding on occasions of early waking. This would upset him. But he was soon told by his grand mother that his mother did so to ward off the evil eye of innumerable ladies as they felt irritated at the sight of the children of other ladies.

'Aqad̄ bitterly complains of the youth of his town who spent most of their leisure time in playing a trick-track and cards, or drinking and smoking or intently watching passers by - male or female - in the morning and the evening. He had read that the Bobbertimers would test the resistance of a baby by putting him in a pot-full of alcohol. Those who survived would be nursed. He longed to put his countrymen in solitude to test their patience. Those who withstood the test could be considered worthwhile and beneficial for the Egyptian society.

- 
1. Ann: PP: 22-23.
  2. Ibid: P: 107-108.
  3. Ibid: PP: 47, 53-55.
  4. Ibid: P: 44.
  5. Ibid: PP: 43.
  6. Ibid: P: 53.
  7. Ibid: P: 116.
  8. Ibid: PP: 117-68 118.

During October, 13, 1931 and July 8, 1932, for about nine months, 'Aqqad was imprisoned and this provided him with a chance to study closely the condition of the prisoners in the Egyptian jails and the various forms of physical and mental tortures inflicted upon them. This he terms as very deplorable and abhorrent. The jail facilities provided to the prisoners were such which guaranteed everything other than moral, physical and mental health and spared everything except honour and self-respect. There were no separate apartments for political and criminal prisoners and not even for male and female prisoners. The sex factor was also not taken into consideration. 'Aqqad passes a very satirical remark against the jail authorities when he says that outside the jail premises democracy is revered to the Egyptians but inside it its doctrines are strictly upheld in so far as infliction of various kinds of tortures is concerned. He has suggested a number of measures for reforms in jail conditions.

'Aqqad has criticised the educational system and literary phenomenon as prevalent in Egypt in his early youth. Recollecting the memories of his school days, he says that the students were frequently harassed by teachers and parents alike. These students who attended school without prescribed uniform would get severe scolding and even physical torture. Teachers would also take recourse to foullest possible language and thereby put the pupil to disgrace. Further this provided him preliminary training in this particular field. In most cases he proved an honest transmitter of the legacy. Parents allowed no extra-curricular reading; actually they guarded the child against reading novels, short stories, journals or any book which was not included in the syllabus. 'Aqqad says of himself that he played a trick on his parents and did extra-curricular reading in such a way as to make his parents believe that he was studying the text books. He plainly says: "All in the home promised that I was memorising my lessons. Seeing this they would praise my eagerness for studies and

---

1. Anā: 77: 17-145.

hatred to spoil my time. Since they would not check the books, they could not know what I read or studied. Actually what I am used to read would be a compilation of poetry, *Alaf Layla*, a legendary novel or a story or a journal like *al-Muqtatif*, *al-Kilāl*, *al-Nahit*, *al-Nisāh* or some other such journal of the day? -1-

The highly undemocratic attitude of the government officials and bureaucracy, their tendency towards self exaltation and expecting admiration for themselves from their sub-ordinators were chief causes that compelled 'Aqqād to resign every post that he held in government at various times. Once he applied for a government job. In the ~~qualifying test~~ <sup>essay</sup> he was asked to ~~write an essay~~ <sup>on the short comings in the government machinery. On the basis of his personal experience he decided to</sup> write an essay with a heavy criticism against it and also suggested measures to improve its working. Later, in the verbal interview, the examiner told him that till his suggestions were implemented both of them might have retired from life itself. 'Aqqād's face frowned and he instantly retorted: "Then treat my application for the post as my resignation". -2-

"Lattery, cheating, betrayal, perfidy, treason and treachery on the one hand and service to the cause of nation, literature, society, religion and morality are the varied ~~best~~ functions which the pen of a writer can perform and, in fact, does perform with the only difference that the number of writers in each field continues to vary from time to time and place to place. 'Aqqād has penned down an interesting discussion on the characteristics of writers in all these fields. In particular he has bitterly spoken about the hypocrisy and the hypocrites, who even while prostrating, actually wish to make a show of their worship. Drawing a simile between the impression of his pencil on his fingers and the prostration sign on the forehead of a hypocrite he says: "On getting broken the pencil troubles me, causes pain to the fingers by its pressure and leaves a prostration mark almost like that as is seen on the forehead of those who (ostentatiously) pray. But this mark does not benefit its holder unlike the prostration ~~mark~~ <sup>which</sup> which benefits its holder in the ~~work~~ <sup>work</sup> of hypocrisy". -3-

1. *Amā*: 17166, 159.
2. *Mid*: 17176-77.
3. *Mid*: 181.

The journalist and the journals are a symbol of the intellectual phenomenon of a country. "The greater the number and the higher the standard of the journals, the rating on the intellectual scale is corresponding. As for Egypt, of 'Aqqād's early age youth, it was at its lowest ebb. 'Aqqād draws a pitiable picture of a journalistic office and says: "Close to the library is a small printing press in which one or two weeklies are published. An editor of a weekly is waiting there. He is writing for his agent whom he has sent to collect subscription fee from the subscribers so that the amount thus collected is paid to square the charges of printing".

As already said, 'Aqqād's works are characterized, besides other qualities, by philosophizing incidents and events and presenting the inferences drawn by him to the reader in a lucid form. His autobiography is, perhaps, the best example of this style and in it he has presented his views on many issues. He failed in his love affairs twice and both the times was cheated by his two beloveds, (Sārah, a fictitious name and 'Ā' Zayādah known lady of letters). Speaking about the philosophy of love he says: "They enquire you about love. Say it is abandoning by one of his life and a spirit for the other. And they ask you about the spirit. Say it is by order of my Lord - the Supreme Creator of the spirit". Further he says: "The gist of all experiments in love is that you do not choose when you love. We are guided by the destiny when we take birth, when we love and when we die. Because the life, revival of the life and end of the life are the stages of life which man and woman do not control them".

Speaking about the philosophy of life he says: "The philosophy of life is a sentence means self contentment, worth-while action, your means must justify the end and do not look very often to the people (for help)".

"Truth is that we are between two extremes and there is no third option; either life must be worthy of living or death must be worthy of dying and there is no choice beyond this."

1. Ibid: P: 172.
2. Ibid: P: 165.
3. Ibid: P: 166.
4. Ibid: P: 171.
5. Ibid: P: 175.



"The best day is that in which we ~~may~~ control our world and are not controlled in it (by anyone). That is the day when we control our likings and tastes and do not harshly obey them ....., Best is that day of mine when my pockets was about to be empty and my conscience about to be polluted and I preferred empty handedness to the pollution of my conscience".

In his opinion a wealthy person does not deserve any respect if he can not command it without his ~~money~~ wealth. "In fact, he deserves humiliation if he tries to exert it from the people on the basis of his ~~money~~ wealth.

He believes that with the advancement of age the morals of a person tend to get perfect because the time is a great teacher. He says: "You observe that a small boy is paid and accosted to sip a dose of medicine because he does not know what illness is and what this medicine is meant for? But give him some time till he knows what illness is and what its cure is, he will pay the person who gives him medicine and run to the place where he can consult the doctor even if he might be at a very far-off place".

He presents his views, in a pure philosophical and lucid form, on the life hereafter, the need for it and the possibility of it. He says: "My friend! the period of life is like all these periods which we spend in going from one place to another. You do not board a train until you get a ticket and do not ~~board~~ acquire a ticket until you know the destination of your journey. The difference between the two passengers boarding the same train might be that one might <sup>not</sup> have the ticket and the other might not; or one might pay the cost of the ticket from his wealth and the other from a source other than it".

About the ~~non~~ existence of GOD he says: "My companion asked me: 'Did you ever reach a philosophy of life?'. I said: 'Yes. Verily God exists'. He asked: 'Do you talk philosophy or religion?' I said: 'Presently I talk philosophy and the philosophy has taught us that the non-existence does not exist while the

1. Am: PP: 182-183.

2. Ibid: P: 169.

3. Ibid: PP: 15.

4. Ibid: PP: 230.

existent does. It exists without any pre-condition of the beginning or the end because you can not say that no existence was before Him and no existence will be after Him?

Barring the last chapter which demanded a somewhat tough language and style to match the gravity of discussion the whole book is written in fascinating style and lucid form. The poet in 'Aqqad has induced him to employ musical language and maintain the rhyme at a number of places.

In order to substantiate his own view point, explain it or inculcate an idea into the minds of his readers 'Aqqad has frequently quoted relevant verses composed either by him or by other poets - ancient as well as modern. With singular mastery he has also incorporated the Quranic verses in his writings. He has even taken recourse to the Quranic style. For example he says: "They enquire you about love. Say it is abandoning of one's life and spirit for the other. And they ask you about the spirit. Say it is by order of my Lord - the creator the spirits". Again he says: "Is for man being ungrateful and ungrateful it is true. There is no doubt in it. He is blessed every time but neither does he acknowledge nor remember it".

To increase the charm and the absorbing nature of the book 'Aqqad has excessively used metaphors. The best examples of it are found in the chapter captioned "My Friends - Children". This chapter is perhaps the best example of simple and lucid style adopted by him and it at once appeals to both to the mind and soul.

1. Anā: PP: 231.

2. Ibid: PP: 133, 134, 214.

3. Ibid: PP: 165.

4. Ibid: PP: 184.

5. Ibid: PP: 133-134.

Ahmad Asin had wrote and published his autobiography in 1950. The second edition of the book was published in 1952 and was made up to date. In the foreword to his book Ahmad Asin has made it clear that man is the product of his environment. To narrate one's life does, therefore, require the author to depict his environment faithfully. He has maintained that human nature is twisted, complicated and multi-faceted and it is very difficult to fully unfold it. But it is all the more difficult to write about one's own self because, in most of the cases, one is not in a position to know himself fully as many of his stark shortcomings remain unnoticed by him for he loves himself more than any one else. As such, the personal account given by any one will invariably be subjective though the subjectivity will vary from person to person. Though Ahmad Asin has not claimed to present the whole truth, yet he expressed his resolve to express nothing but the truth without any twist or adulteration.

While he was a child, a boy and a youth the centre of authority at his home was his father who managed everything according to his taste and had the final say in every thing-big or small. The strictness of his character and his style of management shaped the family affairs on a disciplined pattern. But later, when his mother took over the charge, everything changed from good to bad. The family became an ill managed and disorganized mini parliament.

The personal account given by Ahmad Asin is very vivid. He has discussed, in detail, all the aspects of his life and character and the factors responsible for moulding his thought and action on a particular fixed pattern. The psychological analysis of himself is very neat. During the pregnancy which caused his birth, one of his sisters succumbed to the burns which she sustained and the mother was in a state of grief. This grief, depression and anguish found their

- 
1. Hayati: PP:9.
  2. Ibid: PP:3-4.
  3. Ibid: PP:13.
  4. Ibid: PP:14.
  5. Ibid: PP:17.
  6. Ibid: PP:22-24.

way in to her body and soul. This, perhaps, provides an answer to the question  
 as to why Ahmad Amin refrained from enjoyment and merry making. The religiosity,  
 modesty, simplicity, discipline, hard-~~unpleasant~~ work, serenity, sensitiveness and the  
 like qualities which characterized his home environment formed a part of his  
 character as well. These qualities were so deep rooted in him that no wind of  
 modernism was too powerful to eradicate their effect from his self. He was more  
 inclined towards gloom than pleasure, extremely sensitive, short tempered with  
 humility and with a surfeit bent of mind. Ahmad Amin has, unhesitatingly, made certain  
 confessions. Having got disinterested with the teaching system at al-Azhar and  
 considering it far below his expectations, he would quarrel with two of his  
 associates and, when asked at home, would wrongly assert that he had spent the  
 whole day in his studies. While he was a student at Madrasah al-Qudus, he would  
 commit breach of rules and regulations by visiting 'Casino Alaf Laylah' to hear  
 the songs sung by Al-Fayyaz. He has mentioned the failures which he met  
 in his love affairs and which were responsible for making him over cautious in  
 the selection of his bride when he married in 1916. Ahmad Amin has painted a  
 memorable picture of his locality which, like other such localities in Egypt, was  
 class ridden, closely knit so that one shared the grief and pleasure of every  
 one else and yet had different individual characters. In it every class had its  
 own peculiarities which it held dear to it, practiced different innovations in  
 religion, subjected its patients to vicious and superstitious therapies and  
 recognized the authority of Shaykh.

The corvée, levies and taxes imposed on the farmers made their life  
 miserable. Offenders would be treacherously dealt with by the local agents of

1. Hayat: PP: 18-19.

2. Ibid: PP: 24-34.

3. Ibid: PP: 109-110.

4. Ibid: PP: 116.

5. Ibid: PP: 115-116.

6. Ibid: PP: 115.

7. Ibid: PP: 121-122.

8. Ibid: PP: 163-164.

9. Ibid: PP: 99-100.

10. Ibid: PP: 171-172.

11. Ibid: PP: 168-171.

12. Ibid: PP: 31-37.

13. Ibid: PP: 32-33.

14. Ibid: PP: 37-40.

15. Ibid: PP: 41-42.

17. Ibid: PP: 11.

the king. As a result the country had turned into the worst type of a vast cage in which poor were kept ~~and~~ like slaves and left to the mercy of harsh whips of the wealthy. Pressed by such and other hardships the villagers would flee in the darkness of the night ~~x~~ to find an abode for themselves and their families in some safer area. Ahmad Amin's father had also to take recourse to this practice. In cities the condition of common masses was by no way better. They could not afford electricity connections nor could they ~~manage~~ the installation of taps in their houses. Their life was simple and the standard of living was modest. The overwhelming majority held the Oriental Civilization dear to itself. Westernisation had found its ~~meagre~~ entry in to the houses of a very small number of highly paid government employees.

Ahmad Amin has depicted social, political and economic condition of Egypt ~~x~~ in a bit of detail. Introducing to the reader some of his colleagues and their thinking at Yantā and Iskandariya he has given a survey of their social, political and economic ~~their~~ thought. He has also given the reasons for his inclination towards one and rejection of the other. During the years when his career was in a formative stage he found himself ~~mentally~~ close to "al-<sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>" by which religious sentiments of the Egyptians were sought to be revived. But, after the Dīnīyā incident he found his nationalist sentiments overpowering the religious ones. So he saw close mental affinity with "al-Idnā" of Muṭaṭṭī Kāmil. He has given a detailed introduction to the political thought of <sup>Shaykh</sup> Muḥammad 'Abduh which, to him, could be termed as "Intellectual Nationalism" and of Muṭaṭṭī Kāmil which seemed to him to be "Sentimental Nationalism". The autobiography gives an account of the social, economic and political conditions of Egypt in a systematic order. This helps the reader to fully comprehend the magnitude of the later developments in these fields. It also enables him to make a contrast between

- 
1. <sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>: PP: 13.
  2. <sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>: PP: 12-14.
  3. <sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>: PP: 20.
  4. <sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>: PP: 21.
  5. <sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>: PP: 22-23.
  6. <sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>: PP: 32.
  7. <sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>: PP: 83.
  8. <sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>: PP: 84.
  9. <sup>al</sup>-<sup>id</sup>: PP: 82.

the old and the new, the validity of one or the other for the Egyptian society and adoption of the best in both of them. The political set up which emerged after the first world war, and especially after the formation of "Must Hafd", has been described in detail.

The author has also portrayed the educational and literary atmosphere of Egypt during his life time. The 2 factors which subscribed to the gradual widening of its horizons have also been enumerated. This effort is designed to help the reader in having a clear comprehension of the result of the sustained efforts of well meaning reformers in these fields. In his childhood educational and literary endeavours were basically centred on giving the child preliminary knowledge of the Qur'an, the Hadith and the allied sciences. There were only few schools teaching conventional as well as modern subjects to a small number of selected students. The literary endeavours were confined to writing glossaries and super glossaries over the text. There were practically very little efforts to write genuinely original works. But with the passage of the time, particularly after the establishment of the Egyptian University in 1907, things began to

change for the better. Five fillip to the educational and literary endeavours many academies were established. One of them "Ajma' al-Ta'li' Ma-al-Tarjamah wa al-Ma'rifah" (the Academy of Compilation, Translation and Publication), was established by Ahmad Amin and his associates in 1914. This Academy has continued to render valuable service to the cause of education and literature in Egypt to this day.

"... And the property of this room is as a big worn out mat free which many straws have slipped away, earthen pot in which is stored water which has turned black because of dirt and on it, to cover it, is a wooden cap. A long rope has been fastened with a shaft to hold a cup to fetch water to a drinker, the cup is used to serve water to the clean and dirty, healthy and unhealthy; and a jaxx box in which are kept slates, some of rust laden tin and others of shine-

1. Mayat: PP: 181-187.

2. Ibid: PP: 185-189.

3. Ibid: PP: 154-155.

4. Ibid: PP: 196.

less wood ..... and the Shaykh has put on a turban and a coat without loose-garments, in his hand is a long stick. There is a big nail on the wall hung with which is a "Malakah" which is more than one meters long thick stick in which two holes are bored and through them a rope is tightened. When Sa'iyidin went to inflict punishment upon any of his pupils he inserts his feet in this rope, tightens it with wood so that the feet cannot move. The Sa'iyidin showers sticks on the feet. There is also a long pale stick, so that Say Sa'iyidin can beat, with it, a child sitting in the farthest corner of the room, and all this is the property of the "Kuttah".

Such was the condition of one of the four Kuttahs which served as first cradles of Ahmad Amin's education. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century this was the primary unit for imparting education to the pupils in Egypt. A Kuttah was managed by a Sa'iyidin (a school teacher) and an Arif (a class Monitor). The teaching methods were antique and physical punishment was thought to be the only sending device. The physical facilities in a Kuttah were such as guaranteed ill health more than knowledge for the child. But with the passage of time 'Kindergarten' system sprung which ensured physical growth more than the mental. Ahmad Amin is critical of both the systems because "Life is neither full of facility nor of wretchedness".

Until 1907, al-Azhar was the only higher seat of learning in Egypt - in fact in whole of the Muslim World. Ahmad Amin has given a vivid description of the physical facilities available to the students in this seat of learning, of the hardships which the students had to undergo due to the overall poverty, of the loose administrative set up, of the antique and outmoded methods of teaching which caused majority of the students of lose not interest not only in the system but also in the studies, of the hot temperaments of most of the teachers which

---

1. Hayati: 142-43.

2. Ibid: 43.

3. Ibid: 44-45.

4. Ibid: 44.

5. Ibid: 46.

6. Ibid: 55-57.

7. Ibid: 57.

8. Ibid: 58.

9. Ibid: 60-63.

made them a dreaded figure in the eyes of the students, of the strenuous efforts of some of the well wishers to see reforms implemented at al-Azhar and the overall prevailing effect of the reformative drive of Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh. Ahmad Amin has throughout the book, referred to him with deep sense of respect and

-1-

gratitude. He adds that the training awarded in this sort of learning left students

-2-

completely unaware of the outside world and the happenings therein. The examination system was tough and the questions related more to glossaries than to the text,

-3-

more to create than to create.

The new phase in the literary and educational development of Egypt was started with the establishment<sup>1</sup> of the Egyptian University in 1907. It was hoped that the university would be a centre of serious literary endeavours and an abode of literary and scholars. In fact it fulfilled the expectations of the people in the beginning but soon politics found its way into the 'Academic Council' and the University affairs began to head for a woe. Ahmad Amin has given a detailed account of all these events and the working of the Academic Council

-4-

whose strings would be pulled by the politicians behind the screen. His experience as the Dean of the Faculty of Literature made him aware of the ill's of a centralisation of power and he has given their detailed account.

-5-

Egypt

As far as the political condition of Egypt is concerned, Ahmad Amin has quoted an event from his own life to give to the reader the idea as to how the freedom of speech was denied to the Egyptians at that time. 'Atif Rifk, the President of the "Ihtisāh al-Ah", conducted a debate on the 'causes of the weakness of the Muslims' and Ahmad Amin spoke on the topic. He opined that the tyrant government and their agent 'Ulama' in the Muslim countries were mainly responsible for this decline. The lecture was applauded by the audience but 'Atif Rifk hurried to add that the speaker referred to the past governments and 'Ulama' and as for

1. *Ihtisāh*: P. 164-69.

2. *Ibid*: P. 192.

3. *Ibid*: P. 101-103.

4. *Ibid*: P. 256-257.

5. *Ibid*: P. 255.



the present government, it was just and the "Ulama" were graceful. In schools political discussions were banned and nothing that was thought to concern politics could be included in the text.

-2-

Ahmad Amin has bitterly complained of the ignorance and illiteracy of the Egyptians which caused them to leave even serious patients unattended. This ignorance was so wide spread that even the patients suffering from typhoid would be subjected to the treatment prescribed by some old mid-wife and

-3-

This "doctor" would also be changed no sooner than other such "doctor" care in Ahmad Amin's own brother fell prey to this ignorance and illiteracy. Ahmad Amin's heart bled when he saw an European buying herbs at a cheap rate from the Egyptians of Bahat al-Qarijah and later on selling them at a much higher rate. He observes that literacy, knowledge and hardwork are the qualities of the Europeans and their dividends are invariably satisfactory. These qualities were badly missing in the Egyptians.

Ahmad Amin has directed severe criticism against the Egypt and for

-4-

practising innovations in religion. His system that was in vogue in the rural areas in those days has been particularly criticised by him and termed as inhuman.

Ahmad Amin has introduced to the reader a number of characters but their characterisation is not upto the mark. Though it touches a good number of aspects of the persons' life, yet it does not fully cover it. The standard in this respect is visibly below the level of Al-Ayyar, but where he describes the personality of his father, mother and his teacher 'Ati' the depiction is of a higher order. It will be safe to say that Ahmad Amin introduces individuals without attempting to characterize them.

Ahmad Amin has, throughout the book, tried to lay greater stress on the

---

1. Hayati: PP: 105-106.

2. Ibid: PP: 107.

3. Ibid: P: 85-86.

4. Ibid: P: 113-114.

5. Ibid: P: 28-30.

6. Ibid: P: 11.

7. Ibid: P: 191-192.

8. Ibid: P: 197-199.

9. Ibid: PP: 270-271.

meanings than on the words, on the beauty of expression than on the sentences and on the fluency of ideas than on the diction. He avoids ~~the~~ <sup>to</sup> give length introductions and deals with the subject in a straight forward manner. His style is dignified. To reach the gravity of discussion he has employed a bit tough and stylistic language as compared to his other ~~work~~ <sup>works</sup> of this type.

---

KITĀB AL-ʿITIRĀʾ BY ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ AL-ḤUKRĪ

The book *Kitāb al-ʿitirāʾ* by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥukrī is an autobiography in the sense that, while describing his view-point on a number of subjects, he has recorded some of the events concerning his life and has also, in their context, made some minor confessions. The discussions have been made with a deep sense of the understanding of the human nature and a psychological analysis has been attempted. His leaning towards scepticism has rendered a touch of negativism to such discussions. But the liveliness of the discussions, the deep analysis of the human nature, the authoritative tone, the flow of the words and the boldness with which he has made confessions has rendered the book absorbing. The touch of subtle humour has increased the quality of the book. Besides, it has enabled the reader to estimate for himself the condition of the social, political, cultural, economic, religious and literary life of the Egypt of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥukrī declines to accept as real the "Shadow of Charity" on the faces of children. This shadow, to him, is a fugitive stage and disappears with the advancement in their age and their unchangeable character blooms in their adolescence. The fact that children are far away from full hatred,妒忌, miserliness, abomination, etc., is because they do not know how to stir these and the like potentialities and not because they are absent in them. So against it, a man is fully aware of them and manifests them at his commencement. He is sure that in the modern times the prosperity, bliss, felicity and good fortune co-ordinates with sensitivity of a person. The less sensitive a man is, the higher are the chances of his rolling in wealth and living a prosperous life.

1. *Kitāb al-ʿitirāʾ*: pp. 12-13.

2. *ʿItirāʾ*: 12-13.

There is no limit to the aspirations of a man. The more he gets, the more he desires. Nothing makes him contented. He wants the limit of aspiration to soar higher and higher in the sky till it is either torn away or he is unable to soar any further. al-hukri recalls that in his childhood he aspired for transformation into a rainbow so that all the people saw him and were amazed. This aspiration was strengthened with the passage of time so that at one stage of life he continually ascended at night the roof-top of his house to watch ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~rainbow~~ <sup>rainbow</sup> al-air and to invoke Allah to bestow him with such things. But these things he could not define so that, at times, he prayed for the postponement of Allah al-air to the time he could define them. At school he was, in a state of drowsiness, dreamt as if he was the one in whom all the qualities of a philosopher, inventor, scientist, man of letters, etc., had ~~unleashed~~ <sup>unleashed</sup> and on being harshly dealt with by his teacher for sleeping in the class room he would get bewildered at the teacher's courage to rebuke a man of such caliber. Similarly when his first poem appeared in a journal he thought that the words, literally speaking, were dancing on its pages and <sup>people</sup> ~~every~~ feeling gratified to him for having written such a first-class poem that was destined to change the out-look of the common man as well as a number of matters and that the society was soon to get a change for the better. But when he, later on, read criticisms of his poem appearing in a journal he ~~was~~ attributed motives to the critic and felt that whole universe was conspiring against him. He is very critical of the people to whom the personality of a writer is more important than his writings.

In a chapter captioned "The stage of belief" al-hukri has given a vivid description of the factors responsible for making him a sceptic and a reflectionist. He is haunted in atmosphere full of stories of sinners, sorcery and witch. This modelled his childhood on these lines and as a result of it grew a shadow of a

1. Kitāb al-Itihār: 114.
2. Ibid: 115.
3. Ibid: 116.
4. Ibid: 117-119.
5. Ibid: 119.

hanging cloth in the night would frighten him. When a state of excessive religiosity overtook him which, though made his excessively engaged in worship, yet did not hold him back from indulging in the luxurious of body and degradation.

-2-

Q. As a result this stage also proved unstable and was replaced by the

-3-

scepticism and negativism. These developments made him to get fed up with the life itself, and he many a time longed and prayed for heavier planet than earth to strike it and to relieve the people of this uncertainty.

-4-

Either the life must be worthy of living or the death must be worthy of dying and there is no way in between the two but at all costs the life is to be lived. Some live it laughingly while others with a ~~an~~ frownd face. Al-Shukri says that the necessity to live has taught him to be contented with any manner in which he is made to live it. He is no more need to attach any sentiment whatsoever to it. In the beginning al-Shukri would feel pleased to have loved some one and that he was the beloved of some one. His experience revealed to him that it was a part of that myth he used to believe in his youth. As a matter of fact every art loses its value before the hard realities of this life. That literature alone is tenable which stirs emotions in the hearts of the readers. Playing with words may fascinate some for some time but it cannot please all at all times.

-6-

-7-

-8-

Giving reasons that compelled him to impose upon himself solitude, he says that he smiled before a person and is incapable to bring his point out in his privacy he fluently speaks to himself. It is why he prefers to remain aloof and his is with people torn as his peace of mind and a sign of felicity while the case is the contrary.

-9-

Al-Shukri is of the opinion that in modern times one cannot conceive of success only when he is ready to compromise with his conscience. If one is prepared to put the filthiest remark of a high ranking official at one

-10-

1. Ibid: al-Titiraf: 21.
2. Ibid: 22.
3. Ibid: 23.
4. Ibid: 24-25.
5. Ibid: 26-27.
6. Ibid: 28-30.
7. Ibid: 31.
8. Ibid: 32.
9. Ibid: 33-34.
10. Ibid: 35.

with the philosophical saying of Plato only then can success lie at his foot steps. And al-Hukri had a face failures in life, because he could not compromise with his conscience. Similarly modesty and humility are other factors that withheld him from laying his hands on success. His modesty made him to abstain from mixing with the people and thereby adopted drifting attitude towards life. As a result a gap was created between him and the people and this gap caused him to show ~~the~~ disrespect to and express distrust in them.

While visiting some one in the hospital, it is too difficult for a person to contain himself. He feels compelled to take pity on those who have been hospitalised. This world, according to al-Hukri, is a big hospital and we are its patients and have been stricken by mental, moral and physical ailments. As such, all of us deserve pity. He says that this life is such a temple which can not be solved and to ponder over it is to aspire for something unattainable. Those who ponder over it did nothing except wasting their time in something futile while they could better have spent it taking rest. He further says that had he had Plato's brain, he would batter it with that of an ordinary man. He has to face the hard realities of life and there is no way out except death and after that also is not within the reach of its aspirants. Man has basically been created to let as his destiny takes him to and he has no choice of his own. He has nothing to say when he was created, has nothing to say when facing death and, consequently, has nothing to say while doing something between life and death.

al-Hukri takes a purely negativist view when he criticises and denounces all people as unreliable and a collection of evil life, dupes, dull, tired and miserliness. Fear and superstitions govern them. He himself was always apprehensive of his fortune when travelling in a train, living in a house, talking to a friend and

1. *Itab al-Hukri*: 141-45.
2. *Itab al-Hukri*: 49.
3. *Itab al-Hukri*: 149.
4. *Itab al-Hukri*: 50.
5. *Itab al-Hukri*: 51.
6. *Itab al-Hukri*: 53, 61-63.
7. *Itab al-Hukri*: 54.
8. *Itab al-Hukri*: 55-57.
9. *Itab al-Hukri*: 56-58.
10. *Itab al-Hukri*: 64-66, 75-77.

entire something<sup>1</sup>. It is this nature of him which controls him to express low  
 -2-  
 opinion about all the people - praise worthy and 'less-worthy' alike. But he felt  
 distressed when one of his friends did not endorse as sincere a high opinion  
 -3-  
 once expressed by him for others. He says that people are not sincere in taking  
 -4-  
 pity on others. They do it only to wipe-off misfortune from them. There is to  
 pacify the call of the conscience by giving nearer aid to the needy and there  
 -5-  
 is no spirit of mercy behind this action.

Shukri says that since his country is in a state of transition from  
 one pattern to another, the morals of the people are also undergoing a change.  
 It is why he has inherited grief, anxiety and uneasiness from his parents.  
 -6-  
 These traits have further been strengthened by his education and study. He is  
 critical of the education and upbringing of his fellow countrymen which, besides  
 other negative qualities, teach them that war, cowardice and fearfulness are  
 -7-  
 better than assertiveness and enduring of hardships. This has made them to lose  
 -8-  
 their self respect and get accustomed to this state of affairs.

After having conducted, in some detail, a survey of the autobiographies of  
 'Abbas Ahmad al-Jawādhārī, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jawādhārī, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jawādhārī  
 (al-Jawādhārī), it seems desirable to briefly describe some of their major  
 characteristics as compared to those of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jawādhārī.

Besides giving a faithful account of their own lives, all the four writers  
 have made their autobiographies representative of the social, political, cultural,  
 economic and religious conditions prevailing in Egypt during the period which  
 covers these autobiographies cover. Shukri's work gives an account of such  
 conditions upto 1916, 'Abd al-Rahmān's work covers the years from 1901 to 1907,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jawādhārī is descriptive of such conditions upto 1962 and 'Abd al-Rahmān's work  
 contains in its pages such account upto 1964.

---

1. Kitāb al-Jawādhārī: 160-70.

2. Ibid: 171.

3. Ibid: 174.

4. Ibid: 177.

5. Ibid: 179-81.

6. Ibid: 182-83.

7. Ibid: 184.

8. Ibid: 188-90.

But the difference lies in the method of description adopted by each of them. Tahā Husayn has used third form of narration specifying the terms al-Sabī (the child), for himself in his childhood and al-Fatā (the youth) in his adolescence. While relating the events concerning his life he has recorded, with ample details, the relevant social, political, educational, cultural and the like conditions of his time. Ahmed Amin's method of description is a direct one. He has also dealt on those aspects of the Egyptian society wherever the necessity demanded. The same is the case with Aqqād with the only difference that he has restricted the description mostly to social, cultural and educational fields. The references to other fields are scanty and scattered. As for Shukrī, it seems as if he has made general remarks about morality and human behaviour but a more careful study reveals that these remarks have great relevance to the conditions prevailing in Egypt at that time.

The unique characteristic of Al-Ayyām which is missing in the other three autobiographies is that its author has described the events of his childhood without projecting his adult self in it. He has simply narrated the events with charm and grace and left it to the reader to employ his imaginative power to draw yet more pleasure from it. This he has done with a singular mastery in such a way that the reader forgets for awhile that the account he is reading is from the pen of an adult writer. The case with the other autobiographies is contrary to it. Their authors have narrated the events of their childhood in such a way as to give the reader an idea that they are from the pen of an adult writer who views his own past critically and passes his comments on the events of ~~Markushshum~~ that period. In many cases the events have been presented to the reader after certain additions and subtractions. As such the simple truth and its fascinating quality has been put to harsh rules of standard description and this has partially told upon their absorbing capacity.

While constructing the survey of the autobiographies, it has been pointed out that Ann and Kitāb al-Y'fir are not written in a systematic order and that they are autobiographies in the sense that, while describing certain events concerning their lives, the writers have put forward their comments on them. But



'Aqqād and Shakrī have philosophised the discussions and have attempted a deep psycho-analytical study of their own personalities and also of some of the other characters mentioned in the books. The case with Al-Ayyām is different in so far as philosophising the events is concerned. Its author describes the events in a simple and lucid manner but as for psycho-analysis of himself and also of all other persons who had to be described in the book, it shares the quality with the other two. Anyhow, it must be admitted that 'Aqqād's attempt in this matter surpasses those of his ~~contemporaries~~ contemporaries. Haytī deals with some of these aspects.

Al-Ayyām and Haytī contain a series of characters which, though thoroughly Egyptian, yet have universality in them. While reading them, in most of the cases, the reader can recollect such characters with whom he has come across in his childhood and early youth. And, thus to a major extent, he can relive his past. The characters have been described with every related detail and are fully representative of the Egyptian society. The case with Anā and Kitāb al-'Itirāf is distinctly different. Though they contain reference to certain characters, yet their description is dull and below the mark. In fact their authors were not concerned with this aspect. It is a fact that Al-Ayyām excels the rest in this field.

All the four autobiographies contain many confessions of their authors. We see that though their writers do not present the whole truth about their lives, yet they make a conscious effort to present only the truth to the reader as far as they go. In fact Shakrī's work is entitled "The Book of Confessions". It ranks high in this regard and is followed by Haytī. Al-Ayyām falls almost in the same category. 'Aqqād's attempt in this connection is, no doubt, a blurred one.

For The language employed by all the four writers in describing their lives is simple and the style lucid. Many complex issues have been skilfully dealt with in a simple yet dignified language and have been made absorbing as such. The economy of expression is more evident in Haytī and Anā than Al-Ayyām and Kitāb al-'Itirāf. Though all the four writers have had mastery over the use of simple language, lucid expression, scholarly method of description and charming diction, yet it remains a fact that Al-Ayyām excels others in these and other such niceties.

C O N C L U S I O N

### C O N C L U S I O N

Blinded probably by trachoma at the age of three in 1891, it would not have been unfair to guess at that time that Ḥaḥā Ḥusayn would be a village level religious scholar as his father once threatened to turn him into or, at the most, a highly esteemed ḥaykh of al-Aḥar as his father actually wished him to be. But this blind boy puzzled every one by his performance in the academic field and touched such heights as none had thought of about him. It is interesting to know how diverse and varied education and training he received. He was brought up in a family which was oriental in its outlook, he passed his early life in a village given to customary values; studied first in a Kuttāb whose teacher (Ḥaḥyīdīnā) was more concerned with bettering his economic condition than the studies of his pupils, then in al-Aḥar where avenues of learning, where avenues of learning were badly stricken by out-moded methods of teaching and then in the Egyptian University where pursuit of knowledge was not only possible but easy as well and finally in Sorbonne and (Paris) where the advanced culture of the people fascinated him; he passed most of his time in the company of ḥaykh Ḥaḥyīd al-Ḥarāfī whose guidance was responsible for creating in him a high taste for classical literature, of Ḥamad Luṭfī al-Ḥaḥyīd whose association was responsible for modeling his political outlook, of Orientalists like Nallino, Lotz, G. Block, Durkheim, Celestin Lequille, Santillana, Casanova, Anno Leitman whose companionship developed in him a craving for the European literature, and a superb taste of literary criticism based on Cartesian Concept. He memorised the holy Qurān and al-Ḥaḥaḥiyah of Ibn Ḥalik and learnt Greek, French and Latin; was well versed in master pieces of classical works and also of French literature which he so well mastered; was a devout

disciple of the blind scientific philosopher of the 'Abbāsid period, Abū al-ʿAlā al-Maʿarri, a true believer of Descartes' concept of literary criticism and a faithful transmitter of ʿAbduh's formative ideas. His rich heritage bestowed upon him the capacity to successfully enter the field of journalism as a free and unrelenting journalist, the field of criticism as an honest and unbiased critic, the field of literature as a gifted writer with mastery over word and meaning, the field of teaching as a most informed University teacher and the field of education as an eminent educationist. Besides, he treaded the fields of politics and social reforms and, by any reckoning, was not a failure in either of the fields.

Having said this, it must be forthwith acknowledged that Ṭahā Ḥusayn was so influenced by the European culture in general and the French culture in particular and he advocated its adoption so vehemently that he earned the nickname "sifir Fawq al-ʿindah li al-bārana Fī ʿIrāq" (Ambassador extraordinary of France in Egypt) from his opponents. This made him, at times, to express immoderate views about the genuineness of the European values and insincerity of the Oriental values. He pleaded for the adoption of the European culture as a whole with all its virtues and faults. For this he was, off and on, literally speaking, censured by his critics. Not only this, he would also strive to give his own meaning to the words and the action of the heroes of the past to match his own preconceived conclusions.

---

(1) Maʿālim ʿAlā Ṭariq al Kilāsiki yah al ʿArabiyyah al Ḥadīthah Ma Ṭahā Ḥusayn Wa Mahmūd ʿAynūn: Muḥammad Khalf Allāh Ahmad: PP13

This we have fully dealt with while studying his biographical works and have pointed to them wherever necessary. It must also be noted here that critics accused him of exhibiting rashness in deducing conclusions.

Ṭahā Ḥusayn's literary career formally began in 1914 when he presented his thesis entitled *Dhikrā Abī-al 'Alā'* to the Egyptian University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Since then he remained actively engaged in writing on a variety of subjects. Since the topic of our thesis entails scope for the coverage of his biographical works only, we shall limit our discussion to them. His two theses, *Dhikrā Abī al-'Alā'* and *Falsafah Ibn Khaldūn al-Ijtima'iyah*<sup>(1)</sup> have been written under the over prevailing influence of the Orientalists and hence show a tendency to stricter reasoning, better interjection and greater economy of expression than his other works. He planned to write *Ma' al-Muttanbbi* in a light vein but admittedly wrote it on a different plan. *Ḥafiz wa Shawqī* is an assembly of articles loosely knit and inadequately presented. *'Alā Ḥamish al-Sirah* is a myth rather than a biography in which Ṭahā has used every opportunity to develop imaginative stories with much absorbing capacity but less thought provoking quality. *Al-Shaykhan*, *'Uthman* and *'Alī wa Banūh* though lack in unity, completeness and consistency, yet fully project his deep insight into history and are a manifestation of his capacity to spell-bound the reader. As for *al-Abyām*, its style has become a by-word for grace and charm in Arabic literature.

---

As already said, Ṭahā Ḥusayn presented his thesis *Dhikrā Abī-al-'Alā'* to the Egyptian University for the degree of Ph.D. in 1914 and in 1918 he presented his thesis entitled *La Philosophie de sociale Ibn Khaldoun* to the University of Paris for the degree of D.Lit. In 1919 he presented one more thesis to the same University for the degree of Diploma in Higher Studies.

He has enriched the biographical literature both from the point of view of form and style and substance. Besides, he has made important contribution in the domain of method of research. While reading the biographical works of Jāhā, the attention of the reader, in the first place, is claimed by the charm and simplicity of his style. He carefully chooses words and phrases and pauses to see that they befit the flow of the sentence. The result is that a musical quality is bestowed upon the sentences. In his style the reader can easily discern a touch of dignity and formality that does not lose directness and simplicity.

The beauty of words, the music of sentences and expert handling of phrases is compounded by his capacity to bring the point home to the reader as vividly as possible. Jāhā, being aware of different aspects of the issue under discussion, throws a ple light on them. Most intricate sentiments are expressed in simple language and lucid style. As already said, while reading his works the reader fails to understand if the beauty of the words has been more important with the author of the gravity of the discussion. In a way his style is neither completely "telegraphic" nor completely "ornamental" but a successful combination of the both.

Close to the heels of this description must follow the mention of what is called the peculiar mannerism of Jāhā in giving a rhythmic colour to his writings. This is supposed to be the most marked of Jāhā Husayn's stylistic characteristics, always commented upon by his admirers and critics alike. This is the result of his superb taste for repetition of sentences with

a key word recurring in every such group of sentences. He balances a sentence with a sentence and the phrase with the phrase. Again and again he displays stylistic mannerism and with it is produced the characteristic literary effect. It is not necessarily a matter of convenience with Taha but of taste that has got developed and fostered by the Arab tradition for verbal effects and his own dependence on ear. This characteristic of Taha's style is amply clear to all those who study his works.

The richness and grace of his writing originates from the vocabulary and phraseology which is neither ornery nor ornate. Nature partially compensated his blindness by bestowing upon him sharp intellect and extra-ordinary memory. His memory retained so much of great Arabic literature in his mind that gave him access to a vast treasure of vocabulary and classical allusion and rendered a touch of charm to his style. He does not present unusual words to the reader nor does he attempt to incorporate rough phraseology in his writings. His writing though simple, yet has a slightly elevated tone.

It is a matter of great interest to read a blind scholar attempting to depict a scene or a place by the help of his sensory powers. Therefore, the descriptive power of Taha naturally attracts the reader. He has mastery over such description. It must, however, be acknowledged that though he has skill in building up a picture with the help of the chosen words, yet the details are auditory and of ordinary nature. There is a good number of <sup>such</sup> descriptions in the writings of Taha but the visual narrations are understandably very limited. Any how, where he was supplied with sufficient information by his class mates, he has,

very ably, given an account of the character and personality of al-ʿAyyidīnā with their minutest possible details. While attempting a critical analysis of Al-Ayyām, we have given examples of both these kinds of descriptions.

He has a great command over prolixity. This characteristic especially visible in his early works and Tajdīd Ḥikrā Abī al-ʿAlā contains masterpieces of this characteristic. The best example of this style is where he has attempted a comparison between al-ʿUttansabbī and al-Maʿarrī in two pages. (1)

He has complete mastery over incorporating the Quranic verses, words or expressions as also of Aḥādīth in his writings. Speaking about the Prophet's death and the general condition of

the Arabs at that time, he says:-

فَلَمَّا بَلَغَ الْوُفُؤَيْنِ فِي أَنْبَاءِ مَا تَكُونُ لَكُمْ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَلَا عُرَابِيَّةٌ فِي أَنْ يَكُونَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يُعْبِدُونَ اللَّهَ عَلَى مَرْثٍ  
كَمَا كُنُوا الْعَرَابُ الَّذِينَ جَدُّوا الزَّكَاةَ

"And he leaves the world and Allāh selects him for His companionship. As such it was not strange that the true believers should doubt his death as 'Umar did and it was not strange either that those people should commit blasphemy who worshipped Allāh on conditions as those Bedouins did who refused to pay Zakāt". (2)

Speaking about the oath giving of 'Alī to his predecessors he says:-

فَالَّذِينَ يَنْظُرُونَ بِهِ أَنْ يَبْلُغَ مِنْ الْإِنْسَانِ الْقِيَامَةَ يَأْتِيهِمْ بِهِ الرِّجْلُ  
أَحَبُّ إِلَيْهِمْ مِنْ رِسُولِهِ وَأَحَبُّ إِلَيْهِمْ مِنْ رِسُولِهِ

"So those who opine that he gave under duress his oath of loyalty to those Khulafā whom he gave it, verily they blame him for something for which a person who loved Allāh and His messenger and whom Allāh and His messenger loved should not be blamed." (3)

He chooses choicest words and arranges them exquisitely in such a magnificent style that it sounds nothing less than music. This music soon after touching the drum of the ear, touches the heart and creates a tremor which is difficult to explain. Speaking about Mas'ab Bin 'Umayr he says:-

(1) Tajdīd Ḥikrā Abī al-ʿAlā: PP:223-225

(2) Al-Ḥaḥkhan: PP:19

(3) Ibid: P:46



38 كان عصف السباب، فاضر الوجه، شرف البس، وكان عذب الصوت، حلو الحديث، لا تكاد تقع عليه العين حتى تحقراه النفس، ولا يكاد يقع صوته في الأذن حتى يصبوا إليه القلوب.... وكان لهذا كله أصدوثة قرينته موضوعة رسمها، لتجيب بجمالها البارح، وشبابه الرائع، وحسن بترته وكثرة ماله.

"He was of blooming youth, beautiful face and shining forehead. And he was of sweet voice, pleasing conversation and no sooner did the eye catch his sight than the heart loved him and as soon as his voice touched the ear, the heart ardently fell in love with it.....And for all this he was the topic of the Quraysh and the topic of their evening chat. They were astonished with his superlative beauty, blooming youth, attractive personality and abundance of wealth."(1)

After every discussion he gives its central idea. Speaking about the policies of Mu'awiyah and 'Ali he says:-

"Ali was planning for Khilāfah and Mu'awiyah for kingship. The period of Khilāfah had ended and the period of kingship had started in".(2)

Speaking about al-Muttanabbi's second phase of life he says:-

"So he came out to meet the new life which was not lesser in degree in its miserability, poverty, distress and misfortune and selling out his poetry in unrewarding market than his first one".(3)

His satire is cutting. After having failed to recite the required portion of the Qurān in presence of his father, he felt cut to the bone. Soon his father sent for al-Ayyidīnā and gave him a severe flogging. He, in turn, admonished 'Alī and said:-

"What happened yesterday? How did you fail to recite Sura al-Ju'arā? Did you really forget it? Recite before me".

But 'Alī could not and al-Ayyidīnā said:-

"May God compensate in a better way for the time I have spent on you and the hard work I have put in your training. You have forgotten the Qurān and you ought to revise it. But its sin is neither on you nor on me; it is on your father. Had he given me my wages on the day when you completed the memorization of the Qurān, Allah would have surely blessed your memory. But he refused it and God rubbed off the Qurān from your chest".(4)

(1): 'Alī Hāmish al-I'irah: Vol. III: PP: 151

(2): 'Alī wa Fanūh: PP: 181

(3): Ma'al-Muttanabbi: Vol. I: PP: 183

(4): Al-Ayyam: Vol. I: PP: 41-42

Ṭāhā Ḥusayn is an expert in handling synonyms. With their help he builds up a description which has a fascinating effect. Describing different stages of the preparation of tea at the hands of a student at Al-Azhar he says:-

"And there is nothing strange in it for they heard the bubbling sound of the water when he (student in charge of tea) was going round this stove in which that silent shining coal was burning. The student in charge of tea watched intently over this samavor and concentrated his eye and ear and mind upon it until when the wheezing of the water changed to a bubbling he took a china tea-pot in his hand, put it close to the samavor, turned gently its cap so that some of this simmering and bubbling water ran into it. Then he closed the cap and cut the flow of the water. Then he put the lid on the tea-pot, shook it gently so that the warm water reached its every corner. Then he stood and threw away what was in the tea-pot after having made it warm because it is not good for tea to come in contact either with cold glass or cold metal as it destroys its taste. Then he waited upon this tea-pot for some time and then gently filled the water in it so that it was not filled up to its full capacity. Then he waited for some time. Then he picked up the tin of the Indian tea, took a pinch of it and put it in the tea-pot. Then he put the water in the tea pot so that it was filled up. Then he gently picked up the tea-pot and put it on the embers. Then he detached it from them and shouted to his companions to raise the glasses".(1)

As far as the substance of his biographical work is concerned, we have made an attempt in this thesis to highlight it. Even in the beginning of this chapter we have thrown some light on it.

As far as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's method of research, it is, in many ways, distinctly different from the one adopted by his predecessors and as employed by many of his contemporaries. Its salient features are as under:-

In the first place it has been Ṭāhā's attempt to give an elaborate account of the historical, political, social, religious, economic and geographical conditions of a place to which the hero of his work belonged or where he had to go during the course of his life. After conducting a detailed survey of such conditions he has tried to see their impact on the self of the hero. He is of the firm belief that man is the product of the society and his environment

models his behaviour.

All the heroes of his biographical works are Arabs. As for the Prophet, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, their genealogy was fully known and ascertained but for al-Muttanabbī, Abū al-'Alā', Ibn Khaldūn, Ḥafiz Ibrāhīm and 'Ahmad 'Awwālī, this could not be said with equal ascertainment. This is because the events taking place in the Arabian Peninsula shaped its history in such manner that such claim was rendered impossible in most of the cases. With this submission in view Ṭahā has tried his best to ascertain the genealogy of the hero of his work and to see the effects of the hereditary traits on his person. Having done so, it has helped him to find an answer to a number of questions regarding the life of the hero of his work.

He has attempted a psycho-analytical study of the person of the hero of his work and has tried to find in it an explanation for many of his actions. While doing so he has kept in mind all the relevant issues under discussion. But it remains to be said that this attempt in most of the cases has been inadequate and below the mark. Yet in the case of Abū al-'Alā' the attempt has been very successful and the generalisations made about a blind person are unsurpassed. Perhaps the main reason for this was that both shared the same fate at the hands of the nature—the infirmity of blindness.

While recording information about an event or an incident, he has judged its worth and has examined its original sources and then has passed his own judgement on it. He has mostly accepted only that information which sounded as trustworthy to him. The high status of a person could not influence his judgement. Such examples are abundant in all his works, particularly in Ma'al-Muttanabbī.

falsafah Ibn Khaldūn al Ijtima'iyah, 'Uthmān and 'Alī wa Lanūh. Anyhow, 'Alā Harīsh al-īrah does not stand the test of this standard.

Where any much needed information about the life, character or behaviour of a poet or an author was missing in primary sources or where the sources contradicted one another, Ṭahā Ḥusayn has heavily banked upon their own works to ascertain the truth and to indicate the bent of their mind. Such examples are many in *Tajadid* *Shikrā Abī al-'Alā'*, *Falsafah Ibn Khaldūn al-Ijtima'iyah* and *Ma'al-Muttanabbī*. In the case of other heroes of his biographical works Ṭahā has taken in essence help from circumstantial evidence. Where the event was concerned with any other notion as well, its history has also been consulted. Ṭahā has fully indicated his preference for one or the other version of the event.

The intensive study of the French, Greek, Latin and, to some extent, English literature and the guidance of some of the noted Orientalists made Ṭahā to lean towards the Cartesian Concept of literary criticism. He mastered this Concept by studying it in full detail from its original sources. The main characteristic of this concept is to express doubt in the authenticity of every thing established and to accept it only when the historical and circumstantial evidences and the human logic establish it as valid. There is no denying the fact that Ṭahā has mostly made full use of this concept in his biographical works except at some places which we have pointed out during the study of his biographical works.

.....

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARABIC BOOKS.

1. 'Abbas Khadr. : Qurān al-Madāh : Dār al-Ḥa'arīf Miṣr : January: 1956.
2. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bada'ī : Dā Taha Husayn Fī 'al- : Dār al-Ḥa'arīf Miṣr  
Hilādhi al-'ab'in : 1962.
3. Ahmad 'Abd al-Gaffār : Hadīth Fī al-Kutub : Maktabah al-'Ahdah al-  
Miṣriyah: 1947.
4. Ahmad Amīn : Hayātī : Maktabah al Adab Min al  
Jannāt : 1952.
5. " : Zuh'r al-Islām Fī al- : Maktabah al-'Ahdah al-  
'Asr al-Hadīth. : Miṣriyah: 1948.
6. " : Zuh'r al-Islām : -do- 1955.
7. " : Duhā al-Islām : -do- n.d.
8. " : Yawm al-Islām : Dār al-Ḥa'arīf Miṣr :  
1952.
9. Ahmad In 'Id : Tārīkh al-Miṣr al- : Dār al-Ḥyā al-Kutub  
Siymāyah Min al-Hamīah al-'Arabiyah:  
al-Afransiyyah 28 1708 Hā  
Yahyār al-'alikiyyah 1952:
10. Ahmad al-'Iḥā'ib : Abnāth Wa Ma'alāt : Maktabah al-'Ahdah al-  
Miṣriyah : 1946.
11. Al-'Iḥā'ib ; 'Abbās Muḥammad : 'Abqariyah al-Imām : Dār al-Ḥilāl Miṣr:  
n.d.
12. " : 'Abqariyah Muḥammad : Dār al-Talīf Miṣr  
n.d.
13. " : 'Abqariyah al-Sidīq : Dār al-Ḥa'arīf Miṣr  
: 1951.
14. " : 'Abqariyah al-'Iḥmān : Dār al-Hilāl Miṣr  
n.d.
15. " : 'Abqariyah al-'Imar : Maṭba'ah al-'Istiqāmah  
Cairo: 1948,
16. " : 'Amā' : Dār al-Hilāl  
Miṣr: n.d.
17. " : Muḥammad 'Abduh : Al-Hawassah al-Miṣriyah  
al-'Aḥad 1/1 al-Talīf  
Wa al-Tarjamah Wa al-  
Nashr n.d.

18. Al-'Aqqād, 'Abbās Muḥammad : *Wa Sa'at Bain al Kutub* : Maktabah al-'Ahdah al-Misriyah: 1950.
19. Muḥt Parīd Sakāwūn : *Tārīkh al-'Irāq* *Matha'h al-Dalāq*  
*Diḥlāl al-'Injiltarā* *Ushū'ī*: 1928.  
 Miṣr :
20. Al-Bukhārī, Abū Muḥammad  
 'Abd Allāh : *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* : No publishing house  
 written: n.d.
21. Al-Dhahbī: *Shams al-Dīn* : *Siyar al-A'lam al-Mubalā'* *Dār al-Ma'arif*  
 : Cairo : 1956.
22. Fahmī, Muḥir Muḥt Hasan : *Qasim Amīn* : *Matha'h Miṣr*  
 : N.D.,
23. Muḥtad Dinnarāh : *'Asharūh al-Ushūh'* *Dār al-Mi'āl*  
*Yataḥadathūm* : Miṣr: n.d.
24. Al-Gassī: *Hajam al-Dīn* : *Al-Kawākib al-Gā'irah*  
*Min A'yān al-Mi'ah al-'Ashirah*: (3 Volumes) : *Al-Matha'h al-'Arīkiy*  
 Beirut: 1945.
25. Haykal: Muḥammad Husayn : *Abū Bakr al-'Iddīn* : *Al-Matha'h Miṣr*:  
 1943.
26. : *Aḥmad Latfī al-Gaīyid* : *Matha'h Miṣr*: *Shirkah*  
*Masāḥib Miṣriyah*:  
 1958.
27. : *Hayāt Muḥammad* : *Maktabah al-'Ahdah al-Misriyah*: 1952.
28. : *Farūq 'Umar* (2 Volumes) : *Al-Matha'h al-Miṣr*:  
 : 1945.
29. Husayn Mūnis (Doctor) : *Kutub Wa Kuttāb* : No publishing House  
 written: n.d.
30. Ibn 'Abd al-Bar: Abū 'Umar : *Al-Yatī'ab Fī 'a'rīfah* : *Maktabah al-'Ahdah al-Misriyah*:  
 al-'Ashrīb : Miṣriyah: n.d.

30. Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalanī : Al-Isābah Fī Tanīs : Matbaʿh al-Madrāsah al-  
al-Fahāhah : Asqar Fī <sup>al-</sup>ʿAlkah al-  
Madrāsah: n.d.
32. Ibn Hishām/Abī ʿIshāq Muhammad  
ʿAbd al-Malik : Sirah al-Nabī Dār al-Fikr Miṣr:  
(4 Volumes) : 1977.
33. Ibn Khallikān, Shams al-  
Dīn : Wafayāt al-Aʿyān : Maktabah al-Madrasah al-  
Miṣriyah: 1948.
34. Ibn Saʿd : Tabaqāt al-Kubrā: Dār al-Qādir Beyrūt:  
(8 Volumes) : 1960.
35. Al-Jumhūrī Amīr : Maʿārik al-ʿAdabiyah :  
36. " : Al-ʿAḥbāʾiyyah wa al- Matbaʿh al-Misālāh Miṣr:  
Tajdīd Fī al-Maṭṭar al- 1961.  
ʿArabi al-ʿAḥbāʾiyyah Fī  
Miʿah al-ʿAmīr 1840-1940:
37. Jurjī Zaydān : ~~Sharḥ al-Isābah~~ Tarīkh : Dār al-Milāl Miṣr:  
- al-lugāʾ  
al-ʿAdab al-ʿArabīyah n.d.  
(4 Volumes) :
38. Al-Kharrājī: ʿAbd al-  
Ḥunʾin : Suwar Min al-ʿAdab al- Maktabah al-Anjālū al-  
: Ḥadīth : Miṣriyah: n.d.
39. Al-Kutubī/Muhammad Bin  
Shakir : Fawāt al-Wafayāt Matbaʿh al-Saʿādah Miṣr:  
(2 Volumes) : 1951.
40. Mārūn ʿAbd : Fī al-Muḥtashar Al-Matbaʿh al-Fūlsiyah:  
(Tahlīlī Wā Maqadīm ) Lebanon: 1952.  
(Āṭhar al-Kutub al-) :  
(Maʿāṣirīn) :
41. Muhammad ʿAbd-al-Mahmūd  
Ḥusayn : Kifāh al-Shaʿab : Dār al-Fahār ʿAd al-  
: : Tabāʿwa al-Maṣhr: 1968.
42. Muhammad ʿAlī Muṣṣā : Amīn al-Rayḥānī : Dār al-Sharq al-Jadīd  
Beirūt: 1961.



43. Muhammad Khalīf-Allah Ahmad: Ma'ālin 'Alā Tāriq al-  
Kilāsīyah al-'Arab-  
iyah-al-'Adīb Tāhā  
Ḥusayn wa 'Muhammad  
Taymūr. Al-Munazzah al-'Arab-  
yah Lil Tarbiyah wa al-  
Thaqāfah wa al-'Aḥwā  
Ma'had al-'Arūs wa al-  
Dirāsāt al-'Arabiyah:  
Cairo: 1977.
44. Muhammad 'ūsā al-'Ḥadāyī: Dhwan al-'Islām:  
Beirut: 1955.
45. Muhammad Mustafā al-'Ḥafwat: Misr al-'Aḥ'āfirah:  
Maktabah al-'Ahdah al-  
Misriyah: 1959.
46. " Al-'Uṭilāl al-'Misr  
al-'Injilīzī Li Misr  
wa 'Ḥawqāf al-'Dunā  
al-'Kubrā Inā'ah:  
Dār al-'Fikr al-'Arabī:  
1952.
47. Muhammad Rifā'at Hik: Tārīkh Misr al-'Siyāsī  
Wā al-'Asmīyah al-  
Ḥadīthah:  
Al-'Atba'at al-'Rahmāniyyah  
Misr: 1977.
48. Muhammad Shauqī Zakī: Dhwan al-'Islām wa  
al-'Uṭtan' al-'Asī.  
Maktabah Wahbiyah  
Misr: 1954.
49. Hussain Zuhair Rednastin  
Arabised by: 'Alī Ahmad  
Shukri:  
Tārīkh Misr Qabl al-  
Uṭilāl Harīṭānī wa  
Ba'dah:  
No publishing House  
given: 1927.
50. Al-Qiftī: 'Alī Bin Yūsuf: Al-'Aḥmadūn Min al-  
Shu'arā':  
Matba'at al-'Maḥlis Dār-  
al-'A'arīf al-'Iḥmān-  
iyah bi 'Māydarabād al-  
Dakin al-'Hind: 1966.
51. Rajā' al-'Maqqāsh:  
Al-'Adab' al-'u'ṣṭrūm:  
Maktabah al-'Aḥmad  
Ḥawqāf al-'Misr-  
iyah: 1962.
52. Saīyid Qutub:  
Kutub wa Shakhṣiyāt:  
Matba'ah al-'Risālah:  
Misr: 1946.
53. Al-'Gafadī: Jalāl al-'Dīn: Al-'Aḥ'āfirah  
Ma'had:  
No publishing House  
given: 1962.

54. Al-Qaḥwī: Shams al-Jīnī	Al-Daw al-Lāmi' fī Aḥal al-Ḥaram al-Tāsi':	Maktabah al-Ḥadīṣ: 1346 Cairo: 1353 AH.
55. Al-Qas'ānī: 'Abd al- Karīm Bin Ahmad:	Kitāb al-Ansāb:	Matba'ah Majlis Dār al- Ma'ārif: Dakin: 1962.
56. Shawqī Dāf:	Ma' al-'Aqqād:	Dār al-Ma'ārif: Miṣr: 1964.
57. Al-Shukrī: 'Abd al- Rehman:	Kitāb al-'Itimād:	Matba'ah Jurīf Caruṣi: Ishondaria: 1961.
58. Al-Sulamī: 'Abd al- Rehman:	Kitāb al-Ḥurīyah:	Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī: Miṣr: 1953.
59. Al-Suyūṭī: Jalāl al- Dīn:	Ḥuṣṣ al-Tayān Fī A'yān al-A'yān:	Matba'ah al-Ḥurīyah al- Amrīkiyah: New York: 1927.
60. Ṭabā Ḥaṣṣ:	Adīb:	Dār al-Ma'ārif: Cairo: 1952.
61. "	'Alā Ḥamīsh al-Gīrah: Volume I:	Dār al-Ma'ārif: Cairo: 1952.
62. "	'Alā Ḥamīsh al-Gīrah: Volume II:	Dār al-Ma'ārif: Cairo: 1953.
63. "	'Alā Ḥamīsh al-Gīrah: Volume III:	Dār al-Ma'ārif: Cairo: 1951.
64. "	Al-Ayyam: Volume I.	Dār al-Ma'ārif: Cairo: n.d.
65. "	" : Volume II.	Dār al-Ma'ārif: Cairo: 1953.
66. "	Fulanah Ibn Khalaf al-'Itimād 'īyah:	Matba'ah al-'Itimād: Cairo: 1925.
67. "	Al-Fitnah al-Kubrā: Volume I: ('Uṭṭamān)	Dār al-Ma'ārif: Cairo: n.d.
68. "	Al-Fitnah al-Kubrā: Vol. II ('Alī wa Banīh)	Dār al-Ma'ārif: Cairo: 1956.

(Standard Arabic Texts for Students)

69.	"	Ḥadīth al-Arba'ā: (3 Volumes)	Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: n.d.
70.	"	Ḥadīth wa Shawaḥīd:	Maktabah al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: 1953.
71.	"	Ḥadīth al-ʿUṣṣāḥ: (2 Volumes)	Madrasah al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah wa al- Tarjamah wa-al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: 1936.
72.	"	Min Ḥadīth:	Shirkah al-ʿArabīyah li al-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: 1952.
73.	"	Min Ḥadīth Shīʿ:	Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: 1957.
74.	"	Al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah wa al-ʿUlūm:	Al-Shirkah al-ʿArabīyah li al-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: 1952.
75.	"	Ḥadīth al-ʿUlūm:	Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: 1959.
76.	"	Ḥadīth al-ʿUlūm:	Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: n.d.
77.	"	Ḥadīth al-ʿUlūm:	Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: 1959.
78.	"	Ḥadīth al-ʿUlūm:	Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: 1942.
79.	"	Al-Ḥadīth:	Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: n.d. 1960.
80.	"	Tajdīd Ḥadīth Abī ʿAlī:	Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: 1951.
81.	"	Al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah:	Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah: Cairo: 1969.

82. Madād Sukāhīnī: Qāsim Amīn Dar al-Ḥurūf (Cairo): 1965.
83. Al-Ḥaqdī: Muḥammad Kitāb al-Magāzī: Maktabah Jamī' Oxford: 1966.
84. Yāqūt al-Ḥamānī: Mu'jam al-Aḍabā': Maktabah 'Isā al-Fāḥī: Najahī: Egypt: 1964-68. (2 Volumes)

xxx

ENGLISH BOOKS.

85. Adams, C.C. Islam and Modernism Oxford: 1931.  
in Egypt.
86. Cachia, Pierce: Tāhā Ḥusayn: His place in Egyptian Literary Renaissance: London: 1966.
87. Chatterji: The Middle of the Middle East: (2 Vol.) Vikas Publishing House Delhi.
88. Cronin, Lord: Modern Egypt London: 1911.
89. Gibb, H.A.R. Modern Trends in Islam: Chicago University: 1947.
90. Haywood: H. John A. Modern Arabic Literature: London: 1971.
91. Hitti, P.K. Arabs: London: 1956.
92. Jayuni, Salām Khadrā: Modern Arabic Poetry: London: 1977.  
(Volume I)
93. Nicholson, R.A. A Literary History of Cambridge: 1962.  
the Arabs:
94. Poxton: K.H. Egyptian Childhood: London: 1932.
95. Perle, J. Egypt: the Ptolemaic State: American: 1974.
96. Tom Little: Modern Egypt: Oxford: 1933.
97. Waymont, Hilary: The stream of Days: London: 1948.

URDU BOOKS

98. Al-Ḥusaynī: Abī-al-Ḥ. Khilāfat wa Halūkiyat: Maktabah Talāmī Delhi: 1974.
99. " Shīrāt Sarwar-Ḥam: (2 Vol) -do- 1940.

100. Al-Bawhārī: Abū al-ʿAlā: Tadhīn al-ʿurūn: Markaz al-Maktabah al-ʿArabī:  
(6 Volumes) Delhi: 1980.
102. Al-Sayyid: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: Tārīkh al-ʿArab al-ʿAḥad: Ayman Company:  
Urdu Translation by: Urdu: Allah Abadi: 1979.  
Urdu: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: (Urdu Caption:  
ʿArabī Adab al-ʿArabī:  
Tārīkh)

103.

ARABIC JOURNALS

103. Maḥalah al-Hilāl: Egypt: February: 1966.
104. Maḥalah al-ʿArabī: Egypt: June: 1950
105. Al-ʿArab al-ʿAḥad: Maḥalah al-ʿArabī: December:  
6, 1977.
107. Maḥalah al-ʿArabī al-ʿAḥad: Egypt: July, 1963, October, 1963  
and November, 1965.

ENGLISH JOURNALS

108. The Muslim World:  
Vol: XLV: October,  
1971, Vol: XLV and Vol:  
XLIV, 1972.
109. Journal of Arabic Literature:  
1975: (Vol: 7)
110. Islamic Culture: Vol: 40  
(1967), Vol: XLV (July, 1971)  
and 1972-73.